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REPORT

OF

A TOUR IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

AND

LOWER GANGETIC DOAB

IN

1881-82.

BY

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"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them." LORD CANNING.

"What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally." JAMES PRINSEP.

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PREFACE.

IN the present volume I have given an account of my tour in the Central Provinces during the cold season of 1881-82. My chief object was to explore the old cities of Râjim, Arang, and Sirpur, and to obtain copies of their ancient inscriptions. Râjim and Sirpur are both situated on the east or right bank of the Mahânadi river, at a distance of 40 miles apart, while Arang stands just half-way between them, but on the opposite bank of the river. The result of my researches shows that all the oldest remains that have yet been found in Mahâ-Kosala, or Chattisgarh as it is now called, belong to these three sites. I have but little doubt, therefore, that the ancient capital of the country was situated on the Mahânadi river at Sirpur, or *Sripura*, as it is called in the inscriptions. In my notice of Arvi, I have described one of the oldest copper-plate inscriptions as having been found there, as it is so assigned in the list of the Nâgpur Museum. But I have since learned from Colonel Bloomfield, who presented the plates to the Nâgpur Museum, that they were found at Arang, or in the very heart of Mahâ-Kosala. I obtained this information too late to make the necessary correction in the text.

The remains at these three ancient sites are extremely interesting, as they differ from all the other temples that I have examined in Northern India, not only in their plans but in their decorations. They present no grand entrance to the front, which is quite open to the full breadth of the nave or hall, the only access being by small flights of steps from the sides. Their spires also are not so lofty as those of the

mediæval temples, and their external ornamentation bears a strong resemblance to that of the great Buddhist temple at Mahâbodhi, or Buddha Gaya. Internally the pilasters on both sides of the nave are decorated with boldly sculptured figures which occupy the whole face of the shaft, after the fashion of the figures on the Buddhist railing pillars found at Mathura. But the subjects are all Brahmanical, and I found only one piece of Buddhist sculpture at Sirpur, while Râjim and Arang did not yield any Buddhist fragments.

I have given copies of all the ancient inscriptions from these old cities, and with their assistance I have attempted to frame a brief outline of the history of Mahâ-Kosala, from the third or fourth century of the Christian era down to the conquest of the country by the Mahrattas.

I paid a visit to the great temple of Boram Deo, in a secluded valley at the foot of the Mekhala hills, near Kamarda. I was induced to go there by the general belief that this was a Gond temple, dedicated to the worship of the Nâga king. I found, however, that it was really a temple of Vishnu, and that the Gonds had nothing whatever to do with it, save the imposition of its present vernacular name of Boram Deo, or the "Great God." I was well repaid, however, for my journey, as the temple is one of the finest buildings in the Central Provinces, both in size and in richness of ornament.

On my return I marched along the old line of road in the Gangetic Doâb, from Karra towards Kanauj, in the hope of discovering some of the sites described by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang. In this hope I was disappointed; but I was partly repaid by the identification of several places of the old route recorded by Abu Rihân.

My tour was finished at Mathura, where I was fortunate enough to discover a half-life size statue of Herakles strangling the Nemæan Lion, which is now safe in the Indian Museum in Calcutta, after having been used for years as the side of a trough for watering cattle.

At the end of the Report I have given some account of the aboriginal race of Sauras, or Savaras, for which I had been collecting notes from several years. I wish to direct attention to one of the Sirpur inscriptions, which records the work of a Raja of *Savara* race (*Savarânwaya*), as it shows that this tribe was once a ruling power in Central India. This fact is further borne out by the ancient notices of the Savaras that I have collected from various sources, which prove that they were a noted race in early times when the Kols and Gonds were unknown.

I have also added a short note on Demon-Worship, or the propitiation of the deified ghosts of persons who have died a violent death. This subject is intimately connected with the history of the Savaras, as the *mantras*, or spells, for propitiating these spirits, are still known as *Sâbari mantra*, or "Savara spells." I have given a few examples of these *Mantras* which are not easily obtainable, as the people are very shy about speaking on the subject. But this deified ghosts' worship is universal: I have found it everywhere from the foot of the Himâlaya to the banks of the Mahânadi, and from the Satlej to the Brahmaputra. I believe it to be an aboriginal cult, which has been generally adopted by all the lower classes. From it has sprung the worship of Guga Chauhan, of Harshu Brahman, and of Hardaur Lala, all of whom died violent deaths.

A. CUNNINGHAM.

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

REPORT OF A TOUR IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND LOWER GANGETIC DOAB IN 1881-82.

1.—MAHODHA.

TWENTY-one miles to the east of Nâgpur, there is a large village of 700 houses, pleasantly situated on the left or east bank of the Kanhân River, a clear and rapid stream, 30 yards broad and from 3 to 4 feet deep. Here is a very curious Sati monument of rough stone, 3 feet 8 inches in height, 21 inches broad at base and 10 inches at top, with a thickness of 8 inches. On the face there is a very rudely carved female figure, standing to the front, and holding a club in her left hand. The pillar is called *Siddham*. It is worshipped by Telis and Mâlis, who smear it with vermilion, while fowls (cocks only), flowers, and turmeric, are offered by the worshippers. The woman is only known as the mother of the Teli Genda, who died long ago, say about 60 to 80 years back, as all her sons are now dead. The woman is said to have been tired of life; but, instead of burning herself, she jumped down from a tree, and was killed. As she thus died a violent death, she was, of course, worshipped as a bîr, or spirit, and is accordingly known as Genda-bîr.

2.—MURMARI.

At Murmâri, 12 miles to the east of Bhandâra and 50 miles to the east of Nâgpur, there is a plain tomb, 6 feet square at base, with a pyramidal top of 11 feet, being altogether 17 feet in height. It has a surrounding wall, forming a square enclosure of 18 feet, in the midst of a group of ten fine tamarind trees, with a pretty tank close by. It is the tomb

of an English lady, who is said to have died here on her way from Raypur to Nâgpur. Some say that her husband was the officer in charge of the road, and that he lived here for several months. As the tomb is now worshipped by the people of the neighbouring villages, I conclude that the lady's death must have been rather sudden. In the Central Provinces Gazetteer (Art. Bhandâra, page 63) it is said that "this tomb is held in great veneration by the surrounding villages." Some of the people called it simply *Kabar*, or the "tomb;" but others spoke of it as a *dewal*, or "shrine." It was smeared with the red colour called *roli*, made from turmeric and lime, the same which the women put on their foreheads. Cocoanuts also are offered, chiefly by Telis, who hope for an increased produce from their fields. In the Central Provinces, as in Bihâr, the Telis have long ago given up their occupation as oil manufacturers, and are now very industrious cultivators.

The inscription on the tomb shows that the lady was the wife of Major Claye Watson, and that she died in the 26th year of her age, leaving four infant children. The date has been injured, but it seemed to be 1831, or perhaps 1851. One old man informed me that the sâhib came here to build a bridge, and that his wife died some 30 or 40 years ago.

3.—DONGARGARH.

I did not learn anything about Dongargarh until my arrival at Raypur, when I had left it about 60 miles behind to the westward. For the following account I am indebted to the kindness of Colonel Lucie Smith, the present Commissioner of the Raypur Division:—

"Dongargarh is situated in a basin of the hills, surrounded by jungle, and is supposed to occupy a portion of the site of the ancient city of Kamantipuri. Within the last 40 years six old-world temples stood here; but in the time of the late ruler of Nâgpur these were knocked down, and their materials used for the construction of bridges on the former Nâgpur and Raypur road. Within a small radius from Dongargarh there are numerous ruined tanks, and for miles around, in what is now jungle, there are remains of old foundations, built of strong massive bricks, specimens of which were recently sent to the

Nâgpur Museum. In 1858 Major Henry Shakespeare, Commanding the Nâgpur Irregular Force, encamped here, and he describes, in his 'Wild Sports of India' how the sentry over his tent was carried off by a tigress. Later on, in 1864, the place was a jungle hamlet of some 20 houses, but having a Sunday bazâr, which met in honor of the goddess Baglam Mukhi Devi, an effigy of whom stands at the foot of a craggy hill overhanging the valley. In that year Jamna Dâs, gomashta of the firm of Hukm Chand Ratan Chand, opened a branch shop here and began making purchases of grain. As the demand for Chhattisgarh produce increased, the Sunday bazâr grew larger and larger, and as the position was central, both for buyers from Nâgpur and Bombay, and for sellers from Raypur and Bilâspur, while the jungle afforded abundant shade, it became the favorite grain market of the country side, and is now the most important mart for grain in the whole of Chhattisgarh. The place at present has some 2,000 houses, of which 1,500 are tiled, and the streets run in the oddest way among trees, losing themselves suddenly in the jungle. During the busy season the number of carts, cattle and drivers always occupying the great "Ganj" is estimated at—

13,000 carts,
36,000 buffaloes and bullocks employed to draw the carts, and
18,000 cartmen.

Besides these, there are vast numbers of persons bringing goods in 'Kawars,' and on their heads for sale, and great numbers of visitors coming to purchase, and considerable numbers of Banjâras, so that the total population on a bazâr day during the busy season is taken as not under 100,000 souls.

4.—DRÛG.

Drûg is an old town, with a fort on the eastern bank of the Seonâth River, 24 miles to the west of Raypur. It is situated on the high road leading from Nâgpur through Raypur to the eastward, and must have been a place of some consequence for several centuries. Its very name, which means simply "the fort," would seem to point it out as having once been the principal fortified position in the southern half of Mahâ-Kosala. In one of the inscriptions now in the Raypur Museum there is mention of *Sivapura* and *Siva-dûrgga*, and of a king named *Siva Deva*. Now, as Drûg is situated on the Seo, or *Seonâth* River, I think it highly

probable that its full name must have been *Siva-dûrgga* or Seo-drûg, which has been gradually shortened to the simple form of *Drûg*.

At Anjora, on a high mound 4 miles to the west of Drûg, there is a figure about 2½ feet high. At Drûg itself there is also a small figure of Buddha without a head, and numerous stone foot-stools, such as I have found only at Buddhistical sites, such as Patna, Kosâmbi, Bhita, and Shah-dheri. At Drûg, however, they exist in hundreds, and are collected in heaps in several places, where they are worshipped with anointments of red lead. These stools are generally about 12 inches long and 6 inches high, with four small feet.

The place is surrounded with thousands of fine trees, including many tamarinds. It is said that Drûg once had rajas of its own, but the people know only the two names of Mahâm Deva and his son Jaga, or Jagat Pâla, who is believed to have built the fort. The position of Drûg struck me as being a very commanding one, and I learn from the Gazetteer that—

"The Marathas made it their base of operations in A.D. 1740-41, when they overran the Chhattisgarh country. Besides occupying the fort, they formed an entrenched camp on the high ground on which the town stands, and from which a clear view of the surrounding country is obtainable, thus rendering a surprise next to impossible."

5.—DEO-BALODA.

Deo-Baloda is a small village 12 miles to the west of Raypur. It possesses an old sandstone temple, which is said to be similar to one of the temples at Arang. It is, however, quite different from the only temple now standing at Arang, which is a Jain building, while the Deo-Baloda temple is a Lingam shrine of Siva. Both temples are said to have been built by the same architect, and when they were finished the builder climbed to the top of one, while his sister climbed to the top of the other, to make the customary offerings. As this ceremony can only be performed by naked people, it is said that when the brother and sister reached the top of

each temple and saw each other naked, they were so ashamed that they at once jumped down and were drowned in the tank at the foot of each temple. They were then turned into stone, and their naked figures are still to be seen when the water becomes low. The tank at Deo-Baloda is called Baori, and the temple itself Dewal. The same story of the mason and his sister was told to Mr. Beglar at Arang.[1]

According to one account, the two temples were built in a single night. But this story is common to nearly all the temples in the Central Provinces, each of which is said to have been erected in a single night by Hemâd Panth, with the assistance of the *Râkshasas*, or demons, whose legend I have already related in another place.[2]

The plan of the temple is the same as that of most of the older shrines in Northern India, namely, a sanctum, with a small ante-room, in front of which is a square Mandapa, or open hall, supported on pillars. The sanctum is not quite 13 feet square outside, while the Mandapa is only 22 feet 1 inch, with an ante-room between, 3 feet 5 inches wide. The temple is, therefore, a small one, its outside dimensions being only 39 feet by 29 feet 4 inches, with an estimated height of 40 feet. The entrance, as in most Lingam temples, is towards the east, so that the rising sun may shine on the phallus.[3] But there is also a second entrance on the north side of the Mandapa leading up from a small tank, 60 feet by 52 feet, with stone steps all round. The water is green and thick, and very fetid.

The floor of the Mandapa is raised nearly 4½ feet above the ground, but there is a descent of four steps into the sanctum. It seems probable, therefore, that the mandapa was a later addition; and some differences in the execution of the external sculpture, perhaps, justify this conclusion. Thus, in the procession of elephants round the plinth, the animals of the sanctum have their legs wrongly placed, while those of the Mandapa are correctly represented.

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. VII, 16.
[2] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. IX, 142-43.
[3] See Plate III for a plan of this temple.

The sanctum has two rows of sculptures outside, divided into separate scenes. I recognized the Vaishnava Avatâras of Varâha, Narasinha and Vâmana, and of Krishna playing the flute. There are also several Saiva sculptures, such as female figures holding *trisulas,* or tridents, two Bhainsasuri Devis, and two figures of Ganesa. Several of the niches are empty, more especially the two central places at the back, which most probably held figures of Siva. Some of the scenes represent boar and antelope hunts with dogs. In one a dog has jumped on to the head of the boar from the front. The men are armed with spears, and bows and arrows. In two scenes a man is being carried in a litter, with a curved pole. The litter is like a bedstead with four legs. In a single scene a raja is represented with an attendant, carrying an umbrella. In another an eight-armed goddess is holding an elephant high above her head. The sculpture is boldly carved, but the drawing is poor, and the execution coarse. I noticed only two obscene groups, which is a very exceptional case amongst the temples of Central India.

Outside the temple there is a figure of the bull Nandi, facing the entrance, with several uninscribed Sati pillars.

The central figure over the entrance to the sanctum is Ganesa, which shows that the temple must have been dedicated to Siva.

The four central pillars of the Mandapa are very richly moulded, and are highly polished. The architraves covering these pillars are ornamented with processions of elephants. There are several Sati monuments beyond the temple, but none of them are inscribed. The most remarkable is one with a man seated with joined hands between two standing females. Above there is a female hand pointed upwards with the sun and moon to the right and left. No one appeared to know anything about these monuments. The oldest is square in section, with a pinnacle top.

6.—RÂJIM.

The most holy place in Mahâ-Kosala is Râjim, with its fine group of temples dedicated to Vishnu. The town, which

contains little more than 3,000 inhabitants, is situated on the eastern bank of the Mahânadi River, just below its junction with the Pairi River. The spot is green, and well wooded with fine old mango and other trees, and forms a pleasing sight after a long journey through the almost treeless rice-growing country to the westward. It is, however, always liable to be flooded by the Mahânadi and Pairi Rivers in the height of the rainy season. At these times the place becomes very unhealthy when the waters begin to subside. On the last occasion, only a few years ago, numbers of people died, and the population of 700 houses dwindled down to 3,000 persons, or little more than four to each house.

The principal temple of Râjîva-lochana is visited by thousands of pilgrims on their way to Jagannâth in Orissa. They come to pay their devotions to Râma Chandra, whose statue is said to be enshrined inside. But the figure is actually one of the common four-armed representations of Vishnu himself, with his usual symbols of the club, the discus, the shell, and the lotus. The title of *Râjîva-lochana*, or the "lotus-eyed," belongs to Râma, but not to Vishnu, and is, therefore, presumably not so old as the temple itself, which was certainly dedicated to Vishnu.

There are two old inscriptions inside the temple, engraved in characters of very different ages. The earlier one seems to me to be not later than the 8th or 9th century, while the later one is dated in the year 896 of the Chedi Samvat, equal to A.D. 1145. I would, therefore, assign the foundation of the temple to Râma Chandra, under his title of Râjîva-lochana, to the time of Jagat Pâla of the later inscription, when the Telin Râjîva surrendered her black stone weight to the Raja on the agreement that the temple should be named after her.

The legend of Râjîva-lochana is variously related. According to one informant, the widow Râju, or Râjib, was an oil-dealer of Chânda. She possessed a black stone, which she used as a weight in selling her oil. Jagat Pâl had a dream about this stone, which made him wish to possess it, for the purpose of building a temple over it. He at first offered her its weight in gold, but she refused to part with it. At last

she was induced to give it up in exchange for the Queen's gold nose-ring, and the promise that the temple should be named after her.

According to a second informant, Jagat Pâl dreamed that Thâkur or Parameswar appeared to him, and told him to get this stone and set it up in a temple at Râjim. The Telin, who owned the stone, demanded its weight in gold, but Jagat Pâl unfortunately had no gold. His wife, however, gave up her nose-ring and other ornaments, and though these were much less than the weight of the stone, yet by the favour of the Thâkur they outweighed it. Jagat Pâl, accordingly, took the stone, and set it up in the temple at Râjim; and Râju Telin then came from Chânda, and settled herself close to the temple, and afterwards built a temple close by, which is still called Râju Telin's temple.

A similar story was told to Sir Richard Jenkins, with the addition that the stone obtained from the Telin was the original image of Râma Chandra, which had been set up by the Raja Râjiva-lochana under his own name.[1]

The story told to Mr. Beglar was somewhat different—[2]

> "Râjam is named after a Telin named Rajhâ. She used to worship Nârâyan regularly, and she did so for twelve years, Nârâyan coming to her daily all the time. At the end of the twelve years Nârâyan, being pleased, desired her to ask a boon; she replied—'My lord, stay here always and let my name precede yours.' Hence Rajhâ Telin's name is first uttered in pronouncing the name Rajivalochana."

Apparently, the story about the god having appeared to her, has been altered from that of her dealings with Jagat Pâl. It is quite conceivable that she may have stipulated that, if she gave up the stone, her name should be attached to the temple. This would account for the present name in a simple and natural manner. The stone is now in the temple in a platter placed beside the image of Vishnu.

In the Râjim Mahâtmya it is stated that the Mahânadi River bore the name of Utpaleswara above the junction of the Pairi or Pretodharini River, and that of Chitrotpala below

[1] Asiatic Researches of Bengal, Vol. XV, 503.
[2] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. VII, 154.

the junction. These names are known only to the Brahmans but, as Sir Richard Jenkins received the same names upwards of 50 years ago, the statement of the Mahâtmya is probably true. The same authorities say that previous to Râjiva Telin's time Râjim was called Kamâl-kshetra and Padmapura, both names referring to the lotus.

The temples of Râjim, with one exception, form a single group of buildings clustered around the holy shrine of Râjiva-lochana. The group comprises the following temples :—[1]

1.—Râjîva-lochana, or Râjib-lochan.
2.—Varâha, 3.—Narasinha, 4.—Badarinâtha, 5.—Vâmana — at the four corners of the court-yard.
6.—Râjeswara to west.
7.—Dâneswara to south-west.
8.—Jagannâtha to north-west.

With the two exceptions of the Râjeswara and Dâneswara Lingam shrines, the whole of these temples are dedicated to the worship of Vishnu. The principal temple of Râjiva-lochana and the ruined brick temple at Sirpur are the oldest buildings that I have seen in Mahâ Kosala. The probable date of the former is the 5th century, if the copper-plate inscription of Tivara Deva refers to it. But the temple at Sirpur is later, and may be about A.D. 750, or not later than 800 A.D. These two temples are built upon a plan peculiar to themselves, but which was probably the prevailing style of their age. The most striking differences are: 1st, the shape of the Mandapa, or entrance hall, which is oblong, instead of square; 2nd, the sculptures on the pilasters of the Mandapa, which are large single figures, like those of the Buddhist stûpa railings, instead of clusters of small figures, as is usual in Brahmanical temples. Other peculiarities will be noticed in the following account. But, perhaps, the most remarkable peculiarity is the fact that the pujâris of the great temple are not Brahmans, but Bais Rajputs.

[1] See Plate IV for a plan of this group of temples.

Temple of Râjîva-lochana.—This fine building, 59 feet in length by 25½ feet in breadth, rises from a platform 69 feet in length by 43 feet in breadth, with a height of 8 feet. The Mandapa, or hall, is 37 feet 9 inches in length from north to south, by 17 feet in breadth, and is open only at the northern end. There are two flights of steps at the north-west and south-west corners of the platform leading into the western end of the hall through two side-doors.[1] At the east end of the hall, there is the usual small antarâla, or ante-chamber, leading into the sanctuary, which, as usual, is nearly quite dark. The flat roof of the hall is supported on two rows of six pillars each down the middle, and a single row of six pilasters on each side. The pillars are square, the lower half being quite plain, and the upper half highly ornamented. But the twelve side pilasters are each ornamented with a tall single figure sculptured on the face, after the fashion of the pillars of a Buddhist stûpa railing. These figures, beginning from the south-west pilaster, are distinguished by separate letters in the accompanying plan of the temple.

South side.	*North side.*
A.—Standing male figure with dagger in belt; five horses on the base. Surya.	L.—Standing male figure with dagger in belt, holding bow and arrows—(?) Râma Chandra Avatâra.
B.—Durgâ with eight arms, seated on a lion.	K.—Standing female; flying figures over head. Two lions on pedestal.
C.—Standing female and small male figure. Three lions on pedestal.	J.—Female standing under custard-apple tree and holding neck of a male figure.
D.—Figure of Yamuna (Jumna River) standing on tortoise.	I.—Figure of Gangâ standing on crocodile, attendant with umbrella.
E.—Varâha Avatâra.	H.—Narasinha Avatâra.
F.—Standing male figure with dagger in belt, like a (?) door-keeper.	G.—Standing male figure with dagger in belt, like a (?) door-keeper.

[1] See Plate V for a plan of this temple.

The spire of the sanctum is a square pyramid with curved sides. It is divided into five stages or rows of niches with corrugated pinnacles at the corners, which reminded me very much of the style of the great Mahâbodhi temple at Buddha Gaya. The base of the sanctum is 20 feet square outside. I estimated the height from a rough sketch at 40 feet above the platform, or 50 feet above the ground, including a massive and handsome pinnacle.

At some unknown period, but most probably in the time of Jagat Pâl, A.D. 1145, a wall was built round the edge of the platform, thus forming a courtyard open to the sky for the private perambulation of the temple by female pilgrims. At the same time two additions were made to the platform on the north and south sides, forming long rooms outside the open gallery, from which alone they are accessible to the ministers of the temple. These rooms are called the *Bhândâra*, or "treasury," and the *Rasui*, or "kitchen." The latter is a necessary adjunct of every Vaishnava temple for the preparation of the food which is daily offered to the enshrined statue, and then eaten by the pujâris. These additions completely spoil the external view of the temple, as they effectually conceal the whole of the roof of the Mandapa, as well as the lower part of the spire of the sanctum.

The courtyard of the temple is 147 feet in length from east to west, by 102 feet in width. The principal entrance is on the west side, but there is a small doorway or postern on the east side. The main entrance is itself a highly ornamented structure, with pillars and pilasters on both fronts of the doorway, both inside and outside, forming two open chambers. In the two corners of the inner chamber are two figures, one a rude stone, coloured red, which has once been a statue of Hanumân, the other a black stone statue of Buddha, with the usual curly hair, sitting in contemplation under the Bodhi tree, with his right hand resting on his knee and his left hand on his lap. The ears are pierced and elongated after the usual Buddhist fashion. It is not fixed in its position, and evidently is not in its proper position, even supposing it to represent the Buddha Avatâra of Vishnu,

which is quite possible. The doorway itself is most elaborately carved, and with its boldly sculptured pillars and pilasters in front the entrance to the temple forms a very striking and handsome structure.

In the middle of the lower architrave over the door there is a figure of Lakshmi being anointed by two elephants on the right and left. In the line just above, Siva is represented accompanied by Nâgas. In the third line, still higher, Vishnu is reclining in the usual fashion on the serpent Ananta, and a fourth line above is filled with numerous figures. On the two pilasters in the open portico are sculptured two tall female figures, one with the right hand raised and holding the branch of a tree, the other with the left hand raised. In the other hand each holds a bunch of mangoes. The two pillars between the pilasters are 7 feet 4 inches in height and 15 inches square. They are also ornamented with human figures; but their most striking feature is a pair of intertwined or knotted snakes placed at the corners, where the square portion of the shaft ends and the octagonal form begins. With the tails hanging down on the retiring faces of the octagon, their necks arched, and their heads thrown forward with open mouths, these snakes form a very striking and spirited ornament, well designed and boldly executed.

In each of the four corners of the courtyard there is a small temple; that in the south-west being dedicated to the Varâha Avatâra, that in the south-east to the Vâmana Avatâra, that in the north-east to Badarinâtha, and that in the north-west to the Narasinha Avatâra. These temples are only 12 feet 4 inches square on the outside, with spires similar in style to that of the Great Temple. Over each of the entrance doorways there is an elaborate sculptured architrave, representing Vishnu reclining on Ananta. On the door jambs are sculptured all the different Avatâras. The enshrined statues in the Varâha, Narasinha, and Vâmaṇa temples represent those Avatâras; but in the Badarinâtha temple there is a four-armed statue of Vishnu.

Temple of Râjeswara.—Immediately opposite to the temple on the west, and only 18 feet distant, stands the small

Lingam temple of Râjeswara, with its entrance on the east facing the gateway of Râjîva-lochana.[1] Its plan is similar to that of the Great Temple, with a long Mandapa, open at one end and supported on two rows of pillars down the centre, and a row of pilasters on each side. The Mandapa is only 22 feet 8 inches long from east to west by 18 feet in breadth, being of exactly the same breadth as the gateway of the Great Temple. The sanctum on the west is 15½ feet square outside. Inside is the Lingam named Râjeswara, and facing it, between the four outer pillars of the hall, there is a stone figure of the bull Nandi. Several of the pilasters of the hall are ornamented with large figures like those of Râjiva-lochana. The first pilaster on the south has a figure of the Yamuna River standing on her tortoise, with an attendant carrying an umbrella. The remaining pilasters, with the exception of two, which are plain, bear different male and female figures, which I was unable to recognize. Two of them may be door-keepers, as they have daggers in their belts.

Temple of Râjîva Telin.—This is a small building, 5½ feet to the west of the last, now dedicated to Siva. It is 17 feet 4 inches long by 13 feet broad outside. Inside there is a stone slab, like a common Sati pillar, with one male figure and three females carved upon it, which I think must be intended for the Telin's husband with herself and two slave girls. The building is known as Râjîva Telin's temple; but if her story is true, it is quite possible that this may have been the house in which she lived after she settled at Râjim.

Temple of Dâneswara.—This is a Saiva temple of comparatively modern type. It stands immediately to the south of Râjeswara, and is as nearly as possible of the same size. It consists of a portico containing a figure of the bull Nandi, and an open Mandapa of sixteen pillars, 25 feet by 23 feet, with a sanctum 16½ feet square, enshrining the Dâneswara Lingam.

Temple of Jagannâtha.—At 15 feet to the east of the Narasinha corner temple, there is a small postern door leading outside to the front of a Vaishnava temple, dedicated to Vishnu as Jagannâtha. It is built on the old plan of a Man-

[1] See Plate IV for a plan of this temple.

dapa closed at the sides, but with the front entirely open. This hall is 28 feet 9 inches long from east to west by 25 feet 5 inches in breadth. The sanctum to the west is 16 feet square outside. Inside is enshrined a wooden figure of Jagannâtha, which is said to have been brought from the great temple in Orissa. In the front part of the hall, between the four outer pillars, there is a brazen figure of Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu.

Temple of Râmachandra.—At a short distance to the south there is a comparatively modern temple said to have been built about 250 years ago (some say 400 years) by Govind Lâl, a Seth and Bania (banker and grain merchant), who was also the Kamâsdâr of Raypur. The plinth is of stone, copied from that of Râjiva-lochana, and the entire superstructure is of brick plastered. But the pillars and pilasters of the Mandapa are said to have been brought from the ruins at Sirpur. They are all monoliths, with tall figures on their faces, like those of Râjîva-lochana. But in the great temple it is only the pilasters that are so ornamented, whereas in the Râmachandra Temple four of the pillars have these fine large figures upon them. Two of them have two female figures each; a third has one female figure holding on to a branch of a tree overhead; but the fourth has two figures, male and female, with a monkey overhead in a mango tree. The monkey is about life-size, and the human figures are only a little less. They are nearly complete statues, their relief being so great that they might almost be detached from the back ground of the mango tree. I was more especially struck with the natural attitude of the monkey, which is both easy and spirited. The two outer pilasters have each a figure of the Ganges standing on her crocodile. From this duplication of the Ganges I conclude that the pillars and pilasters must have been rifled from two different temples at Sirpur, as I have never yet met with any example of two Ganges statues being attached to the same building. On one of the pilasters there is a short inscription of a pilgrim in characters of the 8th or 9th century, reading Sri Lokabala.[1]

[1] See Plate X, fig. II.

Kuleswara Temple.—On an island, which once formed the fork of land between the Pairi and Mahânadi Rivers, there is an old temple dedicated to the Kuleswara lingam. A stout buttress wall, of an octagonal form, and 16 feet in height, has been built around the temple to preserve it from the encroachments of the two rivers between which it stands. A short inscription of two lines on one of the pillars records an inundation of former days, which threatened to carry away the temple. The words are :—

"Jâ din vyâpe amb chhutat Siva giri gahi raho,
Jagat Rau tahân khamb Sambh Sukhâsan raho tahân."

"When the waters surrounded the temple of Siva I stayed here, while Jagat Rau's throne of Sambhu stood firm as a pillar."

These lines are said to have been written by the resident priest several hundred years ago. They are useful as showing the belief of the people of that period that the Kuleswara Temple was built by Jagat Rau, whose date, we know, was A.D. 1145. There is an inscription of 19 lines let into the wall inside, from which I gather that the temple is of earlier date. It may have been repaired by Jagat Rau, but the style of the building, as well as the characters of the inscription, seem to me to be older. In the 19th line I read the name of *Mahârâjâ-dhirâjâ Bhoja.*

The temple itself consists of the usual sanctum 14½ feet square outside, with a Mandapa, or hall leading to it, which is open in front, but closed at the sides like the old temples of the Râjîva-lochana group. This Mandapa is, however, of a different shape, its length of 25 feet 8 inches being across the front, while it is only 15 feet in depth to the door of the sanctum. The roof of the hall is supported on two rows of pillars, with a row of pilasters against the closed walls on each side. On one of the outer pilasters there is a female figure sitting on a peacock, which must be the river-goddess Saraswati. On a second pilaster there is another female figure with four arms, who is most probably Dûrgâ. The pillars are 6½ feet in height, with square shafts, of which the lower half is plain. This last fact seems to me to be another

evidence in favour of the date of the temple being earlier than the time of Jagat Rau. The enshrined lingam is sometimes called Utpaleswara-Mahâdeva, but the name of Kuleswara is much better known.

The origin of the name of Râjim, as I have already noted, is commonly assigned to the Râjîva Telin; but, with the usual inconsistency of popular traditions, the name is also attributed to Râju-lochana, king of Râju, who lived in the time of Râmachandra. The story is thus related by Sir Richard Jenkins, as having been taken from the Bhavishyottara Purâna:—[1]

"At the period of the celebrated Aswamedh, a Raja named Râju-lochana reigned at Râju. The horse Shâmkarn having arrived there, the Raja seized him, and gave him to a celebrated Rishi named Kardama, who resided on the bank of the Mahânadi. Satrughna, who followed the horse with his army, attempting to take him from the Rishi, was reduced with his army to ashes by the effects of the holy man's curse. Râmachandra, on hearing the fate of Satrughna, marched in person to avenge his death. The Raja met him, and obtained favour in his sight. Râmachandra told the Raja that there were, of old, two deities at Râju, Utpaleswar Mahadeo and Nilkantheswar; that Seo and Krishna were one; and that he himself would henceforth take up his abode there in the worship of Siva. Râmachandra accordingly ordered the Raja to set up an image in his name, and to call it Râju-lochana, and added that its fame would be great, and that an annual feast should be held in his honour, on the Makor Sankrânt in Mâgh. After paying his respects to Kardama Rishi, recovering his horse, and restoring Satrughna and the army to life, Râmachandra returned to Ayodhya."

The claim here put forward for Râjim as the scene where the Aswamedha horse of Râmachandra was captured, is, I think, a late invention of the Brahmans to give their town a name that should rival the admitted claims of the ancient capital of Manipur, where the Aswamedha horse of Yudhishthira was captured by Babhru-vâhana. The story of Râmachandra's Aswamedha horse is told in the Râmâyana; but the capture was made by Kusa and Lava, the sons of Râma,

[1] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 503.

near the hermitage of Vâlmiki at Chitrakuta in Bundelkhand, which is many hundreds of miles distant from the capital of Mahâkosala. I, therefore, reject the story of *Raja Râjîva-lochana* altogether, and fall back on the comparatively modern legend of *Râjîva Telin*, who lived in the time of Jagat Raja.

The inscriptions of Râjim throw no light on the origin of the name. But the tribal name of Jagat Pâla, whose father Sâhilla is called the head of the race of *Râjamâla*, would seem to offer a very simple explanation in *Râjamâlapura*, or the city of the *Râjamâlas*, which has since been shortened to *Râjam*, or, as it is now pronounced, *Râjim*.

The oldest inscription found at Râjim is that of Tivara Deva, who calls himself "king of Kosala." It is engraved on three copper-plates, joined by a ring, with a seal attached to it. The seal bears the symbols of Vishnu, namely, Garuda, the lotus, the shell, and the discus. The inscription was published in the Asiatic Researches, with a translation by H. H. Wilson.[1] It simply records the grant of a village to certain Brahmans by the king of Kosala, named Tivara Deva, the son of Nanna Deva, and the grandson of Indrabala, the "ornament of the Pandu race." The characters are of the Gupta period, with square box-heads. The grant was made on the 12th of Jyeshta, but was not engraved until the 8th day of Kârtika, in the 6th year of the king's reign. Now the names of Indrabala and Nanna Deva occur in a stone inscription at Sripur, together with those of their immediate successors Chandra Gupta, Harsha Gupta, and Siva Gupta. Of this last prince, Siva Gupta, several inscriptions have been found, in which he is called king of Kosala, of the lunar race. It seems, therefore, almost certain that he was of the same family as Tivara Deva. . In one of his inscriptions he is acknowledged as Suzerain by Yayâti Raja of Kataka, in Orissa. As this record is dated in the 9th year of Yayâti, who reigned from A.D. 474 to 526, the inscription must have been engraved in A.D. 482. If, then, we fix the beginning of

[1] See Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 508, and Plate V of this volume, for a sketch of the seal.

Siva Gupta's reign about 475, the following will be the dates of these early kings of Kosala :—

A.D.	Râjim Plates.	Sirpur Stone.
375	Indrabala	Indrabala.
400	Nanna Deva	Nanna Deva.
425	Tivara Deva	Chandra Gupta.
425	...	Harsha Gupta.
475	...	Siva Gupta.

Now the copper-plates of Tivara Deva were found some 5 or 6 feet under ground, close to the temple of Râjîva-lochana, by the Mahratta chief Hanwant Rao Mahârik, who, thinking that they might be a record of the temple, deposited them with the Pujâris of Râjîva-lochana, who still hold them. As the place of their discovery points to the probability of their having belonged to the Brahmans of Râjîva-lochana, I am strongly inclined to assign the temple itself to the time of Tivara Deva between A.D. 425 and 450.

The second ancient inscription at Râjim is fixed inside the northern wall of the temple. It is 4 feet in length by 2 feet in height, and contains 21 lines of early mediæval characters, which I would assign to about the 8th century. It contains the name of Prithivi Raja.[1]

The third inscription is that of Jaga Pâla, of which a very incomplete account has been given in the Asiatic Researches. This record, which is in nearly perfect order, is 2 feet 4 inches in length by 13 inches in height, and contains 19 lines of almost modern Nâgari characters. It is dated in Samvatsara 896, on Wednesday, the 8th day of Mâgha Sudi, that is, in A.D. 1145, using my equation of A.D. 250 as the 1st year of the Kalachuri or Chedi Samvat. In the Asiatic Researches the date is given as 796, although Wilson read it correctly as 896. The figure 8 is indeed remarkably distinct, and the calculation by the week day agrees with the date

[1] See Plate IX for a copy of this inscription. It is not noticed by Sir Richard Jenkins.

of 896. The whole inscription requires revision, as many of the names have been misread, thus:

Nandila	should be	Sâhilla.
Ranta Deva	,,	Ratna Deva.
Kaheyara	,,	Kâkayara (now Kâker).
Sarhargarh	,,	Saraharâgarh (now Surar).
Rantahâla	,,	Ratnapâla.

In this inscription I see the names of Jâjalla Deva, Ratna Deva, Prithivi Deva, and Jaga Pâla. Now the first three names are found in the same order in my Ratanpur inscription, which was translated by Bâbu Râjendra Lâla Mitra many years ago.[1] The date of that record is Samvat 1207, or A.D. 1150, just five years later than that of the Râjim inscription. I make out, therefore, that Jaga, or Jagat Pâla, was a petty chief under Prithivi Deva, for whom he conquered Kâkayara, or Kâker, and the fort of Saraharâgarh, or Surar. It seems probable, therefore, that Jagat Pâla was the governor of Râjim under Prithivi Deva, king of Chedi. That he was only a petty chief is, I think, conclusively shown by his being called simply Jagat Rau in the short inscription of the Kuleswara temple.

There are several records of the visits of pilgrims carved on the pillars of the Râjîva-lochana Temple. All the principal ones are given in the accompanying plate[2], as they seem to prove that the temple itself must be older than the second or mediæval inscription which is inside the temple. Nos. 4, 5, and 6 are certainly of the Gupta type. I read these inscriptions as follows:—

No. 1.—Sri Videsaditya
* Mantam Videsa
Udbhinna.
No. 2.—Sri Purnnâditya
Udbhinna Chanda.
No. 3.—Sri Purnnâditya.

in highly floriated characters.

1 Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1863, Vol. XXXII, p. 263.
2 See Plate X, figs. 1 to 10.

No. 4.—Sri Salonatungga.
Sri Mâna Devi.
No. 5.—Salonatungga.
No. 6.—Sri-mâna Devi.
No. 7.—Vaṇḍasuthauḍa (?).
No. 8.—Sri Vakarâdhavalam (?).
No. 9.—Sri Bhaga Chapti.
No. 10.—Sri Ratnapureshottama.

7.—ARANG.

The old town of Arang is situated 24 miles from Raypur on the high road leading to the eastward. It lies to the west of the Mahânadi, about halfway between Râjim and Sirpur. The town is surrounded by fine woods, about a mile and a half long to the west, and rather more on the east towards the Mahânadi River. There are many fine old tanks all round, with numerous remains of temples and sculptures, which are chiefly Brahmanical. But the only temple that is now standing is a Jain one, and this would probably have fallen some time ago, had it not been held together by two iron bands, which the surveyors put around it when they used it as a survey station. Half a mile further to the east is the Bâgeswara Temple, which is visited by all the pilgrims on their way to Jagannâth.

To the west of the town, on the bank of the Mahâmai tank, there is a small temple dedicated to the Mahâmai, or "Great Mother." Many fragments of sculpture are collected here, with a broken inscription slab containing 18 lines of writing. Inside the enclosure there are two naked Jain figures half life-size.

A second tank, called the Nârâyani Tâl, lies to the west of the Mahâmai tank, from which it is only separated by an embankment. The water in the end of December was covered with red and white lotus in full flower. On its banks are many life-size statues of Vishnu, with numerous squared stones of large dimensions, the remains of some ancient temple.

Many foundations are found when digging for bricks, and also numerous large stones, more especially pillar bases; carved stones are lying about in all directions. At the time of my visit, in the end of December, a new excavation was being made for the purpose of procuring materials for the building of a new police station. Many thousands of rough stones and bricks had been collected, amongst which were several stone pillars and architraves. The spot where the excavation was made was called Somya Mai. I visited the place, and found that the remains of the temple itself had been removed; but the hole still remained, with several shafts of stone pillars, very highly ornamented. On one of them there were Nâgas at the four corners with human bodies and serpents' tails instead of legs, the left tail of one being intertwined with the right of another on each of the four faces.[1] Several old Sati pillars were collected together on the east side of the old site.

Amongst the rough flat stones collected near the police station there was found one fragment, apparently of a pavement slab, bearing two short inscriptions in old characters, exactly the same as those of the Amarâvati Stupa which have been published by Mr. Fergusson. I read them as follows:—[2]

1st.—Suvarṇa Mâli, 1, Bhari Sanâyo, 1.
2nd.—Gaṇapatiyo Gokarnako, 8 (?) * *

The name of Ganapati shows that the slab belonged to a Brahmanical temple. In fact, I saw no Buddhist remains at Arang, all the curly-headed statues turning out on examination to be common Jain figures.

Arang has all the appearance of having once been a very large city. The traces of old buildings extend for about one mile and a half from east to west by somewhat less than one mile from north to south. Large old bricks are found everywhere, and the *thâlis*, or small circular enclosures round

[1] In Plate XI I have given drawings of three of the Arang pillars. They are all square shafts.

[2] See Plate XI, figs. 1 and 2.

young trees, are generally built of bricks. I could not learn anything about the history of the place, except that it was flourishing before Raypur was built. This is most probably true, as the junior branch of the Haihaya Rajas made Raypur their capital. But the decay of Arang must also have been partly due to the spoilers, as I found a complete group of temples at Nawagaon, 11 miles to the west, which had been entirely built of materials carried away from Arang. Several different temples must have been destroyed by this spoliation.

8.—NAWAGAON.

Nâwâgaon is an old village on the high road between Arang and Raypur. It possesses a fine tank called Deora Tâl, 360 feet in length from north to south and 250 feet from east to west. On its eastern embankment stands that group of temples which I have just mentioned in my account of Arang. The temples are said to have been built many generations ago by two Agarwâl Baniyas, named Sita Râm and Beni Râm, whose descendants are still living in Arang.

There are two stone temples and two brick temples at Nâwâgaon. The former pair face the east, and the latter pair the north. But the two stone temples are of the same size, and are built touching each other, and these are the buildings which are attributed to the two Baniya brothers of Arang. They are each 40 feet in length by 16 feet in breadth, with an oblong hall supported on stone pillars leading up to the entrance of the sanctum.[1] Both are Lingam temples; but they have long ago been desecrated. The pillars are similar in ornamentation to those which I saw at Arang; and as they seem to preserve the style of the old Buddhist railing pillars, I have given two examples in the accompanying plate.[2] They are square in section, and some of them have the full circle and half circle medallions of the Buddhist pillars, with broad borders of flowered ornament at the sides enclosing five shallow flutes. On others there are no borders and

[1] See Plate XII for plans of all these temples.

[2] See Plate XIII for drawings of two of these pillars.

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no medallions, but the shaft is divided into several distinct portions by bands of ornament with five shallow flutes between. A similar style to the last is seen at Râjim in the pilasters of the doorway of Rajiva Telin's temple.

The two stone temples differ only in the arrangement of the pillars of the hall, there being only five in each row in the northern temple, while there are six in each row in the southern temple. Each has two rows of pillars and two rows of pilasters forming three aisles. The pillars vary in thickness from 12 to 17 inches square, but there are two in the northern temple, 21 inches by 12. All these differences betray the fact that these two buildings have been made of the spoils of other temples exactly as stated by the people.

On one of the pilasters of the northern temple, marked X, there is a two-armed female standing under a canopy and holding a child. On the two pilasters, marked Y and Z, to the right and left of the sanctum, there are a male and a female figure standing, with a kneeling figure below to give support. On a fragment above Y there are two human-bodied Nâgas with intertwined serpent tails, just as I have described on a broken pillar at Arang. All the details of these temples, as well as the traditions of the people, point to the fact that they were built from the ruins of some of the Arang temples. They must, therefore, be looked upon rather as a part of the remains of Arang itself than as the original temples of another site. They have all been desecrated.

9.—SIRPUR.

To the north-east of Râjim, and 40 miles lower down the right bank of the Mahânadi River, there is an old village named Sirpur, which possesses some very extensive remains. According to the people, it was once a great city 5 kos, or 10 miles, in length.[1] Its northern limit was at Kamtarai. On the south-east it reached the Jamna-bând at Khirsâli, and the Kharwa-bând at Achânakpur, both places being 6 miles distant from the Gandheswara temple of the present

[1] See Plate XIV for a map of the site.

Sirpur. Apparently, therefore, it is believed to have occupied the whole of the triangular space included between the Mahânadi River and the Naini and Bardeo Nalas, which is about 7 miles on each side, or 21 miles in circuit. Some claim even greater limits for the old city, extending to 13 miles along the bank of the Mahânadi. But the ancient remains do not extend for more than one mile in length by half a mile in breadth. It is, however, nearly impossible to ascertain the actual extent of the old city owing to the dense jungle which now covers much of the ground.

According to the people, the original name of the place was Savaripura, because it was here that the female anchoret Savari offered a Ber fruit to Râmachandra during his wanderings, which was gratefully accepted. In the Râmâyana, Savari is represented as a very holy recluse, who lived on the banks of the Pampâ River to the west of "Rishyamukha's wood-crowned height." There is no mention of the fruit offering; but this act of Savari is famed all over India, and has been embodied in one of the most popular songs of the people. If, however, Sirpur was the site of Savari's hermitage, then the Mahânadi River must be identified with the Pampâ, and the hills to the east with the Rishikulya Mountain. But, as we learn from the Mahâbhârata that the capital of Chedi was situated on the Suktimati River, and, as we know that the Mahânadi flowed through the country of Chedi, I am more inclined to accept the Mahânadi as the representative of the Suktimati, and to place the capital of Kosala on its banks.

I was informed by Mârkandi Shâstri, a Maithila Brahman born in Chattisgarh, and the most learned man in Raypur, that it was the capital of Babhru-vâhana, the son of Arjuna by Chitrângadâ, the daughter of Raja Chitra-vâhana. But, according to the more general opinion of the people, the old capital was at Ratanpur, near Lâphâ. I however think, that this belief has no better foundation than the fact that Ratna and Mani are synonymous terms. I confess that the line of the Mahânadi River seems a much more natural position for the capital of the country; and the fact that all the

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old inscriptions of Chattisgarh have been found at Râjim, and Sirpur, and the opposite town of Arang, midway between them, seems to point to the same conclusion.

In the inscriptions the town is mentioned as Sripura; and, as I find this name in the copper-plate record of Tivara Deva, it is certain that the place is as old as the 4th century. But, if it was a great city at that time, it must have been founded some time before.

As the remains at Sirpur have already been described by Mr. Beglar in great detail,[1] I will confine my account to the principal ruins, and the inscriptions that still exist to attest the former importance of this old city. On crossing the Mahânadi from the westwards the first place that is seen is the Gandheswara Temple, which stands on the very brink of the river. A portion of its enclosure wall has lately fallen down; and, as the site is below the level of high floods, and the temple has no platform, it must always be liable to inundation and consequent injury. In fact the present temple is a comparatively modern one built up of old materials. It is a Lingam temple, as its name implies. Several sculptures are collected within the enclosure; but the place is chiefly interesting for the inscriptions which have been collected here, as the only temple in Sirpur which is now occupied. At the time of my visit a Panjâbi was in charge of it, and with him I was fortunately able to make an agreement for getting a perfect copy of the inscription which Mr. Beglar had found partly buried under one of the pillars of the portico. The other inscriptions are let into the upper surface of the plinth, or lying loose against the court-wall. There is also an inscription now deposited in the Raypur Museum, which is said to have been taken from Sirpur. I will now give a short account of these different records, designating each by a letter of the alphabet.

A is engraved on the lower part of a long slab beneath another inscription to be described presently as **B**.[2] It is 14½ inches square, and consists of 17 lines. When Mr. Beglar

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. VII, 168.

[2] See Plate XVIII for copies of these two inscriptions.

saw it several years ago, the whole was in very fair order; but the upper left corner has now peeled off, carrying away the beginning of each of the first three lines. The third of these lines began with the important word Ṣavarânwaya, "of the race of Ṣavaras," which is the name of one of the aboriginal tribes. This inscription is, besides, of special importance, as it mentions the names of Indrabala and Nanna Deva, the father and grandfather of Tivara Deva, Raja of Kosala, the donor of the Râjim grant, already mentioned as being engraved on three copper-plates. But this Sirpur stone continues the genealogy from Nanna Deva for three more generations, omitting the name of Tivara altogether. The names in the two records are as follow:—

Râjim.	*Sirpur.*
Indrabala.	Indrabala.
Nanna Deva.	Nanna Deva.
Tivara Deva.	Chandra Gupta.
	Harsha Gupta.
	Siva Gupta.

The inscription was recorded during the reign of Siva Gupta by Udayana, king of the Ṣavaras.

B is engraved above A on the same slab. The upper part is lost by the breaking of the stone, but there still remain 15 lines of later Gupta characters, like those of **A**. The name of Siva Gupta occurs in line 11—

Raja Sri Siva Guptasya.

C is on a loose broken stone. Apparently it contains portions of two different inscriptions.[1] The upper one (**C**) has 11 lines in large characters. In the 4th line I read—

Sri Harsha Gupta tanaya Si (va Gupta),

And in the 8th line the name of Sripuriyena. It seems, therefore, as might have been expected, that the true name of Sirpur was Sripura. In line 1 I see the words 'Linggita Mûrttaye, which, no doubt, refers to the dedication of a Lingam obelisk to Siva by Siva Gupta.'

[1] See Plate XIX for C and D inscriptions.

D is inscribed under **C**. It consists of portions of 16 lines in smaller characters of the same age. I do not see any royal names in it.

E is the inscription which was partly buried under one of the pillars of the porticoes. It consists of 12 lines, of which the upper three were completely concealed. It is in nearly perfect condition; but is of later date than the other four which I have just described. The name of Raja Ranjita occurs in the 3rd line.[1]

F is engraved on a slab which was taken from the great Surang mound at Sirpur, and is now in the Raypur Museum. It consists of 18 lines of the same characters as **A**, **B**, **C**, and **D**. In the 9th line I read the name of Sri Siva Gupta Raja. The upper right corner is gone, and generally the right part of the inscription is in bad order. I have, therefore, not attempted to give any copy of it.

With the exception of the last inscription, which is said to have come from the Surang mound, nothing is known about the original positions of these Sirpur records. There are several temples about half a mile to the north-east of the Gandheswar Temple, one of which, called the Lakshman Temple, is of large size, with the tower in fair preservation. One of the inscription slabs must almost certainly have belonged to this temple.

The *Lakshmana Temple* is built on the same plan, and is almost exactly of the same size as the Great Temple of Râjim. The platform on which it stands is 77 feet long by 39 feet broad and 7 feet high. It is built of stone, and is still in excellent preservation. The temple itself of brick consisted of a sanctum and a long entrance hall, or Mandapa. The sanctum is still standing with, perhaps, three-fourths of its tower, tolerably perfect; but very little remains of the walls of the Mandapa, and the pillars and pilasters which once supported the roof are all gone. These, I believe, are now in the Râmachandra Temple at Râjim, which is said to have been built about 250 years ago (some say 400) by Govind

[1] See Plate XX for this inscription.

Sâh, Kamâsdâr of Raypur. The pillars were all brought from Sirpur in boats. They are similar in size and style to those of the Great Râjim Temple; and, as the two buildings are of the same size, I have indicated in the accompanying plan of the temple the positions of all the pillars and pilasters according to those of the Râjim Temple.[1]

The sanctum of the Lakshmana Temple is built entirely of red bricks, with the exception of the jambs and lintel of the entrance doorway, which are of stone. The sanctum is 22½ feet square outside, with a room of 9 feet 9 inches for the reception of the statue. A side view is given in the accompanying plate from a photograph by Mr. Beglar. It is still about 45 feet in height above the platform. The entrance was from the sides at the extreme end of the Mandapa, just as in the Great Temple at Râjim. The carvings on the jambs of the door are of the Gupta style, such as is found at Benares and Eran; and I have no doubt that the temple belongs to the same period as the inscriptions, all of which give the name of Siva Gupta. His date I believe to have been about 475 to 500 A.D.

There is a large statue of Vishnu lying outside the temple, which I think must have belonged to it. The accompanying plate gives a good view of this figure from one of Mr. Beglar's photographs. It is of the same style as the Gupta statues at Eran, and I have no doubt that it belongs to about the same period. The temple was certainly dedicated to Vishnu, as his Avatâras are carved on the door jambs, and there is a Varâha figure on one of the broken pilasters. One square slab of the roof of the Mandapa still remains to show that the roof was closed in by retreating squares. Six broken pilasters are lying about, each 22 inches broad. Each has the remains of some figure upon it. A large figure of Vishnu is lying amongst the ruins.[2]

There is a triangular opening in the upper face of the east side of the sanctum over the Mandapa, formed by over-

[1] See Plate XV, and compare with the plan of the Râjim Temple in Plate V.

[2] See Plate XVII for a photograph of this statue, which appears to me to be of the Gupta style.

lapping course of bricks, like the great opening in the Mahabodhi-Temple at Buddha Gya. It is of the same breadth as the doorway, 3 feet 3 inches, with a height of 6 feet 3 inches in 25 courses of bricks. A view of this temple is given in Plate XVI.

There are the remains of two other brick temples close by, of which one is a complete ruin. A portion of the sanctum of the other still remains. It is 6 feet 6 inches square inside, with its roof formed entirely of overlapping courses of bricks. There are two courses of bricks in each lap, 5½ inches high, with a projection of 9 inches in seven laps. The ruined temple, 15 feet to the north, has a pilaster with a figure of Narasingha, 5 feet high and 17 inches broad, lying on the mound.

The largest temple of Sirpur is represented by a shapeless mound, now known as the "Surang," or Gallery, from the narrow passages which were found on its excavation. Its terrace or platform was raised about 30 feet above the ground on numerous parallel walls, whose roofs formed the floor of the temple, while the narrow passages between them have remained to puzzle the visitors of the present day. Mr. Beglar, who saw the Surang mound shortly after its excavation, has shown conclusively that these parallel walls forming the passages were intended for the support of the floor of the platform and temple.

The inscription slab, which was found in this temple during the excavations, is now deposited in the Raypur Museum. The upper right corner is broken off, and the right side is generally in bad condition; but on the left side I find the name of Sri Siva Gupta Raja in the 9th line. I conclude, therefore, that the temple was built in his time or about 475 to 500 A.D.

A detailed account of this temple has been given by Mr. Beglar[1] with many curious traditions regarding it. I was informed that a gallery ran from this temple to the Rakela Tâl on the east, and another to the Mahânadi on the west. A Râni in former days used to live in the Surang, which was

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. VII.

her palace, and from it she went every day by the gallery to bathe in the Mahânadi River. The people are unanimous in attributing the erection of the temple to Babhru-vâhana, about whom many fabulous tales are still current. He is believed to have left immense wealth, sufficient to feed the whole world for two days and a half. It is said to have been buried near some banyan and pipal trees on the bank of the Rakela Tâl.

Immediately outside the Gandheswara Temple on the east there is a square enclosure surrounded with walls of cut stone, which the people call the Chota-Kila, or "Little Fort." But as the walls are only 4 feet thick; and as the whole space is only 350 feet by 200 feet, I have no doubt that the enclosure was nothing more than the surrounding walls of a great temple. In fact, there is a ruined mound in the middle of the enclosure overgrown with jungle, but covered with cut stones which can only be the remains of a temple. On the west side of the Chota-Kila several sculptures are collected at a place called Devi-ka-thân, which derives its name from the principal statue of Mahesâsuri Devi, who is represented, as usual, with eight arms killing the buffalo demon. There is a second statue of the goddess as Durgâ with four arms, seated on a lion. There is also a cow-faced goddess with eight arms, sitting on a bull; and, on the jamb of a temple-door, there is a figure of the Jumna River standing on her tortoise. In the north-east corner of the enclosure there is a square well of 6 feet 4 inches wide. On a broken pilaster, 1 foot 8 inches broad, I observed a female figure 5 feet 9 inches high from neck to base. This probably shows that the old temple which once stood on this site was of the same style as the Lakshman temple and the Râjîva-lochana Temple at Râjim.

There are numerous broken figures and other remains scattered about the vicinity of the Chota-Kila. Amongst them I observed a small temple with a garuda over the doorway, and a lintel of another temple with a four-armed Vishnu in the middle. A pilaster, 20 inches broad, bore the figure of the skeleton goddess Kâli trampling on a man. As this

is of exactly the same size as the pilaster inside the Chota-Kila, I presume that it also must have belonged to the old temple.

At the south-west angle of the Chota-Kila, near a broken temple, I found a colossal head of Buddha, 18 inches high, with the usual curly hair and long split ears. The great size of this head shows that Buddhism must once have been flourishing in Sirpur; but the absence of any other remains, not only here, but also at Râjim, would seem to prove that Buddhism was eventually suppressed, and, perhaps, carefully rooted out by the utter ruin of all its temples and statues.

The Rakela Tâl is a fine sheet of water about half a mile to the east of the Gandheswara Temple. It is about 250 or 300 yards square, and to the south there is a ruined fort of about the same dimension. The tank is famous for the possession of the Pâras, or Philosopher's Stone, whose touch changes all metals to gold. In ancient days it is said that a shepherd of Sirpur "noticed a strange goat, which joined his flock every day and left in the evening. One evening he followed it, when it went straight to the Rakela Tâl, and disappeared under the water. While the shepherd (goat herd) was looking on in wonder, a stone was thrown towards him from the water, and a voice said, "This is the reward of your labour." On seeing it was only a stone, the goat herd struck it back into the water with his *kulhâri* (axe), saying "What sort of reward is this for my labour?" But when he found that his *kulhâri* had been changed into gold, he looked for the stone, but in vain, as it had disappeared."

10.—KUNWARA.

The fine and large old village of Kunwara is situated 14 miles to the north of Raypur, a little to the left or west of the high road leading to Bilâspur and Ratanpur. Its foundation is attributed to Raja Kunwat, and a large tank is assigned to his queen as the Râni Talao. Like most old places, Kunwara is surrounded by numerous tanks. To the south there is a group of four small stone temples on the bank of the Michni Tank, all of which have lost their entrance porticoes.

There were formerly several other and much larger temples in the village, especially two Jain temples which stood in the part still named Mâlkam-bâri, or the "Mâlkam Garden." These were given up by Khub-chand Baniya (a Jain) to Mr. Read, the Deputy Commissioner, and were dismantled by Muhammad Yakub, overseer, to make the causeway across the bed of the Kulhân River, near which there are several carved stones now lying. The stone steps of two tanks, named Dâni Tâl and Bhor Tâl, were also taken for the same purpose. Even the pillars were carried off; but some statues were left behind, which are now lying about the village. According to Khub-chand himself, three temples in the village were pulled down, as well as the two Jain temples at Mâlkam. It is admitted that the tops of these were in a ruinous state previously. They also were Jain temples.

To the west of the village there is a ruined temple 18½ feet square with a figure of Siva still standing inside.

The four temples to the south of the village are still standing without their porticoes. Perhaps they were spared on account of their small size, as they would not have furnished enough materials for a single causeway. All of them are said to be of the same age as the Jain temple at Arang. But, as these four are Brahmanical temples, it is probable that the tradition refers only to the Jain temples of Kunwara, which have been destroyed.

A temple is only 8 feet 10 inches square outside, with its door to the east. It contains a standing statue of Vishnu with four arms. It has several lines of plain mouldings below, with a pyramid of curved sides surmounted by a massive pinnacle. It once had a portico in front, as shown by the two pilasters to the right and left of the doorway. A broken pillar lying close by is 13½ inches square.

B temple, at 10 feet to the north of A, is only 6 feet 7 inches square. The door is to the east, so as to let the rays of the rising sun fall on the Lingam enshrined inside. It also had once a portico, but the two outer pillars are now gone. Close by to the north there are two figures of the bull Nandi.

C temple stands 25 feet to the east of A and B. It is only 6 feet square outside, with its door towards the east. It is now empty, but it formerly held a Lingam.

D temple is 25 feet to the east of C. It is 7 feet 1 inch long by 5 feet 7 inches broad outside, with the door to the west facing the other temples. It probably held the figure of the goddess Kâli, which is now standing under a tamarind tree close by.

There are no names attached to any of these temples, which is the more remarkable, as the names of nearly a dozen tanks still remain. These are as follows:—1, Râni Sâgar; 2, Bura Sâgar; 3, Nana Torai; 4, Phatkâri Tâl; 5, Donu Tâl; 6, Bhor Tâl; 7, Lila Tâl; 8, Nakti-nava Tâl; 9, Khomna Tâl; 10, Mâbar Tâl; 11, Michni Tâl; near the temples.

There are also several Sati monuments at Kunwara, of which one under a tamarind tree is certainly old. It is an octagonal shaft, with a square base and a square top, surmounted by a pinnacle something like that of a temple.

11.—SIMGA.

Simga is a flourishing old town on the right bank of the Sêo, or Seonâth River, 29 miles to the north of Raypur, on the high road to Bilâspur and Ratanpur. There is a fine large tank to the south of the town with several modern brick temples. The only old monuments are the Sati pillars, of which one has been sketched by Mr. Beglar. This pillar, which is now in the Raypur Museum, is one of the most highly ornamented Sati monuments that I have seen. It has a square base changing to 8, 16, and 32 sides as it rises, with four square faces above, containing lotus flowers on three sides and two female hands placed upright on the fourth face. Its top is a blunt cone. There was once an inscription on the base, which is now almost obliterated.

Simga stands in an important position where the road from Raypur divides into two, one going to the westward to Sahaspur and Kawarda, and so on to Mandala and Jabalpur,

the other going to the northward to Bilâspur, Ratanpur, and Sohâgpur, and so on to Rewa.

12.—KAWARDA.

Kawarda, or Kamarda, is the head-quarters of a Râj Gond chief of old family. It is pleasantly situated on the Sânkri River, near the foot of the Sâle-tekri range of hills, about 60 miles to the north-east of Raypur, and 65 or 70 miles to the west of Bilâspur. The town is a large one for this part of the country, and is said to be still increasing.

The name of the Sânkri River is said to be mentioned in the great inscription of the Marwa or Dulha Deo Temple, near Boram Deo. There is a modern temple dedicated to Râma-Chandra which possesses many remains of architecture and sculpture of some temple of former days. There are several fine old pillars and bases, with several jambs of doorways, ornamented with twisted snakes carved upon them, like those at Râjim and other places. There is also a loose slab, with 13 lines of a much worn inscription.

13.—BORAM-DEO.

The Great Temple of Boram Deo, or Buram Deo, is mentioned in the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces as being probably the most ancient building in the Chattisgarh district —that is, *if the date inserted on its tablet can be relied on.* This date was read as Samvat 160, which could not, of course, refer to the era of Vikramâditya, as the writer of the article supposed, when he gave its equivalent as A.D. 103. I thought it barely possible that it might, perhaps, refer to the Chedi or Kalachuri era, which dates from A.D. 249, as this would bring it down to A.D. 409. My surprise was, therefore, very great when I found that the date had been simply misread, and that it was actually the most recent of all the inscriptions at Boram Deo. The record is engraved on the left jamb of the southern door of the temple, and its date is simply Samvat 1608, or A.D. 1551. The mistake is the more noteworthy as the date had already been published by Sir

R. Jenkins as Samvat 1609[1]. The temple, however, is a very fine old building, and I am glad that I was induced to visit it.

The temple of Borām Deo is situated in a small circular valley of the Mekala range of hills near the village of Chapri, 11 miles to the east of the town of Kawarda, or Kamarda, as it is written in the maps. The valley is about one mile in diameter, with two narrow openings on the east, which are covered by a long low ridge, standing out about a quarter of a mile from the foot of the range. The village of Chapri lies in the southern gap behind the ridge. The Boram Deo temple stands at the western end of a long embankment which forms a large lake at the north side of the valley.

This temple of Boram Deo is often quoted as a proof of the antiquity of the Gond rule in Chattisgarh. I have already disposed of its antiquity as based on a misreading of a modern inscription. I can now add that its attribution to the Gonds is equally without foundation. The temple was certainly not dedicated to the Gond deity Boram Deo, but to Vishnu, whose image is placed over the middle of the three entrances. It is said that the figure of the snake-god is the only image inside the temple; but this was not the case at the time of my visit, as there was a large figure of a bearded man sitting with joined hands, which I take to be the image of the Raja's religious adviser. It is 2 feet 7 inches high and 1 foot 11 inches broad, and has three inscriptions on the pedestal. The lowermost bears the date of Samvat 840 during the reign of Sri Gopâla Deva. It is a much larger sculpture than the Nâga, and also of much better execution. On the pedestal of this figure there is a Raja on horseback, with an attendant behind carrying an umbrella, and a female offering food to the horse. To the right is a Jogi seated with his knees bound. The horseman I take to be the founder of the temple, and the Jogi is probably the same as the large-bearded figure. The actual builder of the temple would seem to have been Lakshana Deva Râya, together

[1] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV.

with his son Râma Râya, and his queens Dhâlâ Devi, Sundhâ Devi, Râjâ Devi, Padmâ Devi, Sîlâ Devi, and Bâlâ Devi.

The real sculpture that belonged to the temple is now standing under a tree a few paces to the eastward. It is a large group of Vishnu and Lakshmi sitting on Garud. Vishnu has the usual four arms, holding the club, shell and discus. The sculpture is 3 feet 9 inches high and 2 feet broad. As Vishnu is represented with his wife, the temple must have been dedicated to Lakshmi Nârâyana. Under the same tree there is a second group of Vishnu and Lakshmi, 1 foot 10 inches high and 1 foot 9 inches broad.

The date of Samvat 840, if referred to the Chedi era of A.D. 249=0, will be equivalent to A.D. 1089. But this can hardly be the date of the temple, unless the record of the ubiquitous "Magardhwaja Jogi, 700," which is carved on one of the jambs, can be referred to some later era than that of Chedi, which would make it equivalent to A.D. 949. The temple itself must, therefore, be older. Perhaps it might be referred to the Saka era of 78 A.D., which would make it equal to A.D. 918. The style of the characters forbids its being referred to the Vikramâditya era, which would throw back the date to 840-57=783 A.D. As the Chedi date would accord pretty well with the visit of the Jogi, I think that it may be accepted as at least a useful approximation to the true age of the temple.

But whatever may be the date of the Boram Deo temple, whether it be assigned to the 10th, the 11th, or the 12th century, it is certain that its founder must have been both wealthy and powerful, as it is one of the most richly decorated temples that I have seen. Unfortunately the name of Raja Gopâla Deva does not occur in any of the lists to which I have access. There are, however, two Bhupâlas in the list of the Haihaya Rajas of Chattisgarh; and as Gopâla and Bhupâla are absolutely synonymous terms, as in the well-known instance of the Pâla dynasty of Magadha, I think it probable that the inscription may belong to one of them. The earlier one is the 8th in the list preceding Jâjalla Deva, the grandfather of Prithivi Deva, who was reigning in A.D. 1145

and 1150. The approximate date of Bhupâla will, therefore, fall early in the 10th century, which agrees very closely with the date of A.D. 918, if the Saka era be taken for the inscription. But if, as seems more probable, the Chedi Samvat should be taken, the date of 140 + 249 = A.D. 1089, agrees exactly with the period of Bhupâla Singha Deva, as calculated by Mr. Chisholm in his account of the Chattisgarh district. But the temple must certainly be older than A.D. 1089, if we are to refer the record of " Magardhwaja Jogi, 700," on the jamb of the southern door, to the Chedi era. From the state of the characters I should not place Magardhwaja earlier than 1300 A.D. Perhaps his date of 700, if it be a date, may be referred to the Sri Harsha era which would bring him down to A.D. 1306.

The temple of Boram Deo, or Buram Deo, is built on the common plan of most of the mediæval temples, with a square Mandapa, or hall, leading through a small *antarâla*, or ante-room, into the sanctum[1]. The temple faces the east, and has three entrances on the north, south, and east sides. Its extreme dimensions are 60 feet in length by 40 feet in breadth. The Mandapa is 18 feet square inside, with four central pillars 8 feet apart and 12 side pillars or pilasters let into the surrounding walls. Each entrance has a small porch or ante-room 8 feet by 4 feet. The floor of the hall is raised 5 feet above the ground; but the floor of the sanctum is on the ground-level, and is reached by a descent of 5 steep steps from its ante-room. The sanctum is nearly 9 feet square, and at present contains a Lingam, which shows that the name of Boram Deo must be posterior to the time when the figure of Vishnu was removed to make way for the symbol of Siva. The name of Boram Deo was, no doubt, imposed by the Gonds, when they came into power. This probably took place between five and six hundred years ago, as I found several Sati monuments dated early in the 15th century of the Vikramâditya Samvat. The earliest certain date is Samvat 1422, or A.D. 1365, and there are others of 1430, 1433, and 1445. These

[1] Se ePlate XXI for a plan of this temple.

are all Sati records, and I take them to belong to the Gonds, because the Haihayas had an era of their own named the Chedi Samvat and the Kalachuri Samvat, which is used in all their inscriptions.

The Mandapa of Boram Deo has a low roof of overlapping stones inside, but the outside is broken. The tower of the sanctum is complete up to the circular amalaka fruit, which forms the base of the pinnacle. On the east side of the tower there is a very highly ornamented circular opening, which was most probably intended to lessen the pressure over the entrance to the sanctum. The walls are decorated with three rows of figures of Vishnu and his different Avatâras, with Siva, Kâli, and Ganesa, and many obscene groups. In the uppermost row the figures are 1 foot in height, in the middle row 1½ foot, and in the lower row 2 feet in height. The plinth consists of four mouldings, rising to 4 feet. The upper course is ornamented with a continuous procession of elephants and lions very boldly sculptured. The tower is complete up to the top of the *Amalaka* fruit, but the top of the pinnacle is gone.

Immediately to the north of Boram Deo there is an old red brick temple of a peculiar plan, which was first noticed by Mr. Beglar in the Great Temple at Udaypur in Malwa. There are the usual projections on each of the three faces of the sanctum, but the short angular projections which join the faces are not right angles as is usual, but acute and obtuse angles, whose points are laid out on the circumference of a circle. In the Udaypur and other examples given by Mr. Beglar, these projections are all acute angles of equal size; but the present case is quite unique, as the central angular projection is larger than the projection on each side. The points of the angles also are broken by two indents, which add very much to the general effect of the exterior view of the building.[1]

This brick temple apparently had no Mandapa, but simply a porch in front of the entrance on the east. The sanctum,

[1] See Plate XXI for a plan of this temple.

however, is of the same size as that of Boram Deo, and the tower would, therefore, have been of about the same height. But the upper half of the tower is entirely gone, and only a few carved bricks, which were found in clearing away the surrounding rubbish, now remain to show that the exterior was not quite plain.

The porch, or entrance to the sanctum, was built entirely of stone, of which one outer pillar and three pilasters still remain standing. Inside there is an Argha *in situ*, which shows that this was a Lingam shrine dedicated to Siva. A small group of Hara-Gauri also declares the same thing. There is a second group of a king and queen with crowns on their heads, and their hands joined in an attitude of worship. This group most probably represents the founders of the temple. There is nothing to show the age of the building; but it is probably of about the same age as Boram Deo.

Close by there is a small brick temple in ruins. All the front portion is gone, and only the brick wall and parts of the two side walls now remain. This temple was, however, a very small one, as the sanctum was only 4½ feet square inside, and only 8 feet square outside. Its dome was formed by overlapping bricks, in 15 laps of two bricks each, the bricks being 12 by 6½ by 2¾ inches.

About half a mile to the south there are two other temples, one without name, and the other known as Dulha Deo and Marwa Mahal.

The nameless temple is a Lingam shrine with a small figure of Durgâ over the entrance, with Siva himself and Pârvati on the jambs. The building is upwards of 7 feet square inside, and rather more than 15 feet square outside. It is curious as being built of stone inside and of brick plastered outside. The roof of the sanctum is formed of large slabs placed so as to cover the corners from centre to centre of each side. This is repeated four times, and the small square thus left is covered by a single stone.

The temple of Dulha Deo, known also as the Marwa or Mandwa Mahal, is a large Lingam temple built on the usual plan, with an open square Mandapa in front of the sanctum.

The true name of the temple has been lost since the general acceptance of the popular appellations mentioned above, which were given by the Gond villagers. The open pillared hall reminded them of the open shed, supported on wooden pillars and ornamented with flowers, which is prepared on most festive occasions, but more particularly for marriage festivities. Marwa and Mandwa are only corrupt forms of Mandapa, and the other name of Dulha means simply the "bridegroom." Both names, therefore, refer to the open shed erected for the celebration of weddings.

This temple faces the west. It is built entirely of stone, and is of much coarser construction, and therefore of much later date than the fine temple of Boram Deo. In the Mandapa there is a loose slab, broken in two pieces, which is covered with a long inscription in modern Nâgari characters. Its date is curiously described as "Vikrama Saka, 1406, Jayanâma Samvatsara." This is clearly intended for the Vikramâditya era, and is therefore equivalent to A.D. 1349, which corresponded in its latter half with the Jaya Samvatsara of the 60-year cycle of Jupiter, according to the northern reckoning.[1]

The Mandapa, or open hall, of Dulha Deo is 31 feet square, leading into a small ante-room in front of the sanctum, which is 14½ feet square outside. The chamber inside is 11 feet 4 inches by 8 feet 10 inches. The roof of the Mandapa is supported on four rows of square pillars, 15 inches square, with a few plain mouldings, but no carvings of any kind. The centre pillars are 8 feet high, while the side pillars resting on the low walls are only 4 feet 1½ inch high. The roof of the Mandapa is formed by three courses of overlapping stones in each square, closed by a single stone at top ornamented with a lotus flower.

The tower of the temple is built entirely of granite, which has once been plastered. It has two rows of sculptures out-

[1] A similar use is made of the word Saka by the Chalukya king Vikramâditya Tribhuvana Malla, who established the Vikramâ Saka era, named after himself. See Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. IV, p. 14.

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side, nearly all of which are obscene. In the centre of each of the three faces there is a small niche now empty.

The inscription is 5 feet 3 inches long by 2 feet 3 inches broad, and contains 37 lines. It is nearly complete; but has not yet been translated. It is said to contain a genealogy of 22 kings, which, if they were generations, would place the earliest of them 550 years before the date of the record, or about A.D. 800.

Both of the large temples are surrounded by Sati pillars. The oldest near Boram Deo are uninscribed, but there are several with inscriptions of the 15th century of the Vikramâditya Samvat. In two cases the era is verified by the mention of the name of one of the 60 years of Jupiter's cycle.

One of these Sati pillar inscriptions has the date recorded as follows :—

> Swasti! Samvat 1430 Samayo.
> Siddhârtha nâma Samvachhara.

" Be it auspicious! In the Samvat year 1430, the year (of Jupiter) named Siddhârtha.

The year 1430 Samvat corresponds to A.D. 1373, which was also the year Siddhârtha according to the reckoning of Northern India.

A second Sati inscription runs thus—

> 1—Samvat 1445, Bhâva nâma Samva(t)sare, Aswina,
> 2—Sudi 13, Some-Kumâra Jhâpadu putra soma Mehara,
> 3—Sati Mâlhai.

" In the Samvat year 1445, in the year of (Jupiter) named Bhâva, in Aswina, on the 13th day of the waxing moon, Monday, the widow of Prince Jhâpadas' son Soma became a Sati."

It is a curious fact that if the dates of these two inscriptions are reckoned in the Chedi era of 250 A.D.=1, the years 1679 and 1694 A.D. will agree with the two named years of the Jupiter cycle, according to the reckoning in use in Southern India. But fortunately the week day settles the date, which would otherwise be doubtful, as belonging to the Vikramâditya era, as it agrees exactly with that reckoning,

and disagrees with that of the Chedi era. A copy of this inscription is given in the accompanying plate.[1]

In my account of the temple I have mentioned the dated inscription which is recorded on the pedestal of the seated bearded figure which now stands inside. There are four inscriptions on this statue, copies of which are given in the accompanying plate.[2] The two longer inscriptions are each divided into two portions by the dress of the figure. They are apparently complete, although a few of the letters are doubtful. I read them as follows:—

A.—1—Sri Râma Mûrti Vî
2—dâni Purushotma Vâsuka,
3—Jogi Kânho Sakala Kala Pravîna.

B.—1—Lakhana Deva Râyâ Vâsu Purâmu,
2—Râya Suta, Gaja Singha, Râni Manâ Devi, Sundhâ Devi,
3—Râja Devi, Padmâ Devi, Sîla Devi, Vâtsa Devi.

The two smaller inscriptions, I read as follows:—

C.—1—Samvat 840, râ * kâ.
2—Sri Gopâla Deva Râjye.

D.—1—Uma Maheswara, Sundaratara,
2—Sâdhu Dhângu Sutena Kâritam.

From these records it would appear that the image was dedicated by Lakhana Deva Raja, and the members of his family, in the Samvat year 840, during the reign of Sri Gopâla Deva.

14.—SAHASPUR.

In the XVth volume of the Asiatic Researches, page 506, Sir R. Jenkins mentions an inscription on an image standing under a tamarind tree, near a tank at Sahaspur. The image is still there, and is still known as *Sahasra-bahu* or the hundred-armed, which is a title of Sahasra Arjuna, the progenitor of the Haihaya race of Chedi. The date is quoted as S. 934 Kârtika Sudi 5, Budhwar. But the day of the month is the 15th Sudi, and not the 5th.

[1] See Plate XXII.

[2] In the same plate are the four inscriptions which are engraved on the pedestal of the bearded figure in the temple.

Sahaspur is the residence of the Gond Chief of Lahara Sahaspur. It is 12 miles to the south-west of Kamarda, and 60 miles to the north-west of Raypur. The name is written *Sahezpur* in Sir R. Jenkins's notice of the inscriptions of Chattisgarh.[1] The inscribed statue of *Sahasra Bahu* still occupies its old position under a tamarind tree near the tank. The image is also called *Sahasra Arjuna.* The inscription is engraved on the base of the statue, and is in very fair condition. It is dated in *Samvat 934*, *Kârtika Sudi 15*, *Budhe*, or on "Wednesday, the 15th of the waxing moon of Kârtika in the year 934, or A.D. 1183." That the Samvat here mentioned is the *Chedi* or *Kalachuri* era is proved by the correspondence of the week day, as the 15th of Kârtika Sudi in A.D. 1183 was a Wednesday. I conclude, therefore, that this part of Chattisgarh, at the end of the 12th century A.D., must have been subject to the Haihaya princes. It is quite possible, however, that the actual ruler of the district in which Sahaspur is situated may have been a Gond tributary of the Haihaya Raja of Mahakosala.

The inscription on the base of the statue consists of 4 short lines, followed by 4 half lines on the left, giving the names of the donor's family, and by 2½ lines on the right giving the date. The Raja is named Yasa Pala, and the whole of the upper four lines are taken up with his praises. He was equal to Guru (Vrihaspati) in eloquence, and to Bala in liberality. He was beautiful as Kâma Deva, and as skilful in war as Kârtikeya, a destroyer of his enemies, and a protector like Siva. His Queen was Lakshma Devi; his sons were Prince Bhoja Deva and Prince Raja Deva, and his daughter was the Princess Jâsalla Devi.

As this record is only one year later than the Khârod[2] inscription of Ratna Deva, which is dated in Chedi Samvat 933, Raja Yasa Pâla must have been a feudatory of Ratna Deva, the Haihaya Raja of Ratanpur. It seems probable, however, that he was a Haihaya himself, as his inscription is engraved

[1] Asiatic Researches of Bengal, Vol. XV, p. 506.

[2] See Plate XXII, for a copy of this inscription.

on a statue of Sahasra Arjuna, the ancestor of all the Haihayas. As the town of Sahaspur also derives its name from Sahasra-Arjuna, the Sahaspur family was almost certainly a scion of the Ratanpur Háihayas up to the end of the 12th century, and therefore the Gonds, who now hold this part of Chattisgarh had not succeeded in displacing the Haihayas.

15.—KANKALI.

Sir R. Jenkins mentions two inscriptions near a ruined pagoda named "Borea of Pandria." One of these, which was broken into three pieces and incomplete, had no date. The other is said to have been dated in 849.[1] The pagoda is now known as that of Kankâli after the figure of Kankâli Devi, which is now lying outside her ruined temple in an old deserted fort, 3 miles to the north-west of the village of Boria, in the small state of Kamarda. The fort is about 20 miles to the north of Kamarda.

No trace of the broken inscription could be found anywhere, and I feel rather doubtful whether I succeeded in getting the dated inscription which was read as S. 849. I got one dated inscription, but the date, though doubtful, is certainly not 849. I read it as Samvat 910. It is engraved on the pedestal of a royal bearded figure, who is seated with hands joined in adoration. It consists of three long lines opening with *Swasti Sri Vijaya Raja Jasa Râja Deva.*[2]

A second inscription on another figure has three short lines opening with *Sri Jasa Raja Deva.* It has no date.

A third inscription gives only the name *Devadâsa*; and a fourth records the name of the ubiquitous Jogi "*Sri Magaradhwaja, 700.*" As his name, which has now been found in some nine or ten different places, is always accompanied with the same number 700, while the characters in which he writes his name do not appear to be older than about A.D. 1200 or 1300, his date seems uncertain. I have hitherto thought that the 700 might be referred to the Chedi era, which would

[1] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 506.
[2] See Plate XXII for copies of these inscriptions.

place him in 700+249=A.D. 949, or considerably earlier than the date of Jasa Raja's temple. Exactly the same difficulty confronts us with the Jogi's record on the jamb of the temple door of Boram Deo. The oldest inscription found there is engraved on the base of a bearded statue, during the reign of Raja Gopâla Deva, and is dated in Samvat 840, or A.D. 1089, if referred to the Chedi era. A possible explanation of this difficulty might be that the two bearded statues do not actually refer to the building of temples, which would therefore be older than A.D. 949, when Magar-dhwaja recorded his name. But it seems much more likely that the Jogi's date, if it be a date, should be referred to some later era; perhaps to that of Sri Harsha, which would place him in 606+700=A.D. 1306.

The fort in which the temple stands is a square of 550 feet side. The figure of Kankâli Devi is 3½ feet high, and has 18 arms, which hold, amongst other objects, a bow and arrow, a shield, a trident, a human head, &c. There is also a standing figure of Siva, 4 feet in height, with a trident, and close by a figure of Ganesa.

The date of the long inscription is unfortunately somewhat doubtful; as the figures are crowded together. Apparently they are intended for Samvat 1110, which, referred to the Saka era, would be equivalent to A.D. 1188, a date not incompatible with the characters of the inscription. If referred to the Chedi era, the date would be 249+1110=1359 A.D., which certainly seems to be too late.

I read this inscription as follows :—[1]

1.—Swasti Sri Vijaya Raja Jasa Raja Deva Mahârânakasya tasya Maha Amâtya Thâkura Mâlna tasya.

2.—Tramati sreshtha Thâkura Pâlna nâma Visnata tasya Mâta Bâlna, tasya putri Bâhonâma Visnata tasya pitusya mo—

3.—** prâsâdam stâpitam Sivaṁ, Samvat 1110 Sutradhâra Dhâranidhara.

Several of the letters are doubtful, but, as well as I can make them out, this inscription records the building of a

[1] See Plate XXII.

temple (*prâsâda*) by the two Thâkurs Mâlna and Pâlna during the reign of Jasa Râja Deva. This Prince I take to be the same person as Yasa Raja of the Sahaspur inscription, as their dates correspond within five years.

There is also a second short inscription of the same king, which was set up by Jâgu, the Danda-nâyaka, or "Minister of Justice."

16.—RAMNAGAR.

The palace of the Gond Rajas of Garha Mandala is situated on the south bank of the Narbada, where the river makes a sudden sweep to the south-west between thickly wooded banks that come down to the water's edge. The palace, which is 80 feet above the river, commands a view of both reaches of the river; and the selection of such a site shows that the Gond Prince Hridayeswara must have had some appreciation of the beauty of the spot.

The palace of the king, called the Moti Mahal, is a quadrangle 212 feet in length by 200 feet in breadth outside, with a courtyard inside of 167 feet by 156. There is nothing worthy of particular note about the building. The centre rooms are long and narrow; but the side rooms are generally small, and must have been very hot. One mile and a half to the east is a small building which is said to have been the palace of a Bhâgela Râni, that is, of a lady of the family of the Rewa Raja. At a short distance from the Moti Mahal, there is a lofty building, called the palace of Rai Bhagat, the Dewân of Raja Hridayeswara, or Hirde Sâh, as he is more commonly styled.

About 100 feet to the south-west of the Moti Mahal, there is a Hindu temple which is strikingly like a Muhammadan tomb. It was built by Râni Sundari, the wife of Hirde Sâh, who dedicated it to Vishnu, and placed in it "images of Vishnu, Siva, Ganesa, Durgâ, and the Sun." The images of Sûrya and Ganesa, which are each upwards of 3 feet in height, remain inside, but the others are gone. The inscription slab which recorded the genealogy of the Gond Rajas and the building of the temple has been placed in the

Moti Mahal for safety. The temple is a square building of 56 feet each side. There is a square room in the middle, of 19 feet side, covered by a dome, with a small-domed room at each corner, and an open veranda in the middle of each side. Externally the building is just like a Muhammadan Tomb, or a modern Bengali Pancha-Ratna temple. On the east side the two pillars of the veranda have fallen, but the mortar is so good that the roof still remains intact.

This long inscription was translated by Captain Fell; but, as the translation was not published until after his death, there are a few errors in the reading of the names which would, no doubt, have been avoided had he lived to publish the translation himself.[1] In a prefatory note H. H. Wilson says that—

"The Garha Mandala inscription is remarkable for the genealogy of a race of princes who exercised the sovereignty over part of Central Hindustan, in which the enumeration much exceeds that of any inscription yet discovered. A very moderate computation will place the origin of the family in the commencement of the seventh century, as, if we allow an average of twenty years to the reign of each of the fifty-two princes prior to Hridaya in 1617, we shall deduct 1,040 years from that date, and consequently place the accession of Yâdava Raja in 627."

Many years later a list of these Gond Rajas was published by Sleeman with the lengths of reigns, which he must have obtained from the descendants of the Raja's Ministers, as they are not given in the inscription. The record opens in a very simple manner.[2]

"In the province of Gâdhâ there was a prince named Yâdava Râya, a receptacle for the waters of battle. His son was Mâdhava Sinha, whose son was Jagannâtha, from whom was descended Raghunâtha, whose son was Rudra Deva; his son was Vihâri Sinha, whose son was Vâsudeva, from him was Gopâla Sâhi, from whom was descended Bhupâla Sâhi; whose son was Gopinâtha, whose son was prince Râmâchandra, whose son was Suratâna Sinha, whose son was Harihara Deva, whose son was Krishna Deva; from whom sprung Jaga Sinha, whose son was Mahâ Sinha, whose son was Durjana Malla, whose son was Yasaskarnna, whose son was Pratâpâditya, whose son

[1] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 436.

[2] Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 438.

was Yasaschandra. His son was Manohara Sinha, whose son was Govinda Sinha, from whom was Râmachandra, whose son was Karnnotha-ratna-Sinha, whose son was Kamalâ-nayana, whose son was the prince Narahari Deva; Vira Sinha was his offspring, to whom was born a good son named Tribhuvana Raya, whose son was Prithivi Râja, whose son was Bhâratichandra, whose son was Madana Sinha, whose son was Ugra Seva; his son was Râma Sâhi (from whom was descended Târâchandra, whose son was Udaya Sinha), whose son was Bhânumitra, whose son was Bhavâni Dâsa, whose son was Siva, whose son was named Harinârâyana, whose son was Sabala Sinha, whose son was Râja Sinha, whose son was Dadiraya, whose son was Coraksha Dâsa, whose son was Arjuna Sinha.

"13.—To whom was born Sangrâma Sahi, who was the fire of general destruction to the heaps of his cotton-like foes, and upon the appearance of whose majesty pervading the universe the mid-day sun became as a spark.

"14.—Wishing to conquer this whole earth, he destroyed fifty-two fortresses, (considered) impregnable, by their ramparts and bastions, equally the thunderbolt, and firm on the peaks of mountains.

"15.—The son of this gem amongst monarchs was Dalapati of unsullied fame, whose renown the lord of serpents (Sesha) was long anxious to chaunt, but whose mouths could not completely accomplish his praise.

"16.—Even those (princes) of morose dispositions continually embraced the dust of the feet of (this monarch) whose hands were always moist with waters of the charity, (who was) intent on his remembrance of Hari, the protector of those in his power, and the guileless cherisher of his subjects.

"17.—His consort, Durgâvati was as prosperity itself to the fortunes of the petitioners, beautiful as the image of virtue, the acme (boundary) of the good fortune of this earth.

"18.—Upon the decease of the sovereign of the universe, she installed her son, the fortunate Viranârâyana, three years old, in the seat of royalty.

"19.—By her own renown, famed in the three worlds, she made this whole earth, as it were, to change its appearance, by immensely high golden dwellings, as an unlimited splendid Hemâchala, by the heaps of precious jems scattered everywhere, as a mine of innumerable jewels, and by the herds of frolicsome elephants, as possessing innumerable elephants of the lord of heaven.

"20.—Surely, she who daily presented steeds, elephants, and millions of gold in unbounded charity, eclipsed by these high-famed acts the vast renown of the Kâmadhanu.

"21.—Always intent on the protection of her subjects, she herself mounted on an elephant, in every field of battle, conquering her powerful adversaries, rendered useless the Lokapâlas.

"22.—The fortunate Viranârâyana of infinite fame, entered manhood; and the dignity of this prince, diffused over the world, increased, together with the portion of revenue requisite to be taken.

"23.—In the course of time, a mighty chief was dispatched by Akbar, powerful by the riches of the earth, and equalling Arjuna for the tribute. He was disrespected by the prince.

"24 & 25.—Upon a battle taking place, this illustrious warrior made the earth bend beneath his vast army, and who had ever defeated his foes by his dreadful valour, was slain by hundreds of thousands of his adversary's arrows. Durgâvati, who was mounted on an elephant, severed her own head with the scymitar she held in her hand; she reached the supreme spirit and pierced the sun's orb (obtained salvation).

"26.—Chandra Sahi, the asylum of the unprotected, the abode of glory, the full lamp of the whole of his family, he whose wealth was fame, and the offspring of the prince Dalapati, was crowned (by the people).

"27.—The females of his enemies quarrel with the trees in forests: the trees first snatch off their garments, then with their thorns seize them by the hair. The women consume them with sighs, and observing by the (light of the) sun their uncovered bodies, harshly tear off the bark to clothe themselves.

"28.—As the six-faced god was descended from the consumer of the god of love, so was a son named Madhukara Sahi born to this prince. He was of unsullied renown, and a sea of glory acquired in this world.

"29.—By whose victories, proclaimed by hosts of people, and accomplished by his strength of arm, the eight Dikpâlas are eternally ashamed: by the vibrating sound of whose double-headed drums, outvying the roar of the newly risen, but arrogant clouds as a general deluge, the exultations of his agitated and dispirited foes were silenced.

"30.—His son was the fortunate Premanârâyana, the accomplisher of the wishes of the god, the corporal energy of the mass of glory of the Kshatriyas; the abode of love; fame itself; the pride of his family; the wealth of the virtuous, the art of the creator, the ocean of good qualities, and void of a path for evil.

"31.—His foes, deprived of their repose by the first acquaintance of the light of his shining renown, and separated from their beauteous females, unto this day do not quit the mountain caves: and by his increasing troops of thousands of dreadful elephants, resembling

heaps of clouds and whose brows were fragrant with the dew of passion, the mass of hills was either humbled or cleft.

"32.—In the field of battle, even the proudest monarchs should only be forcibly secured. Enmity should not exist; fame should be increased in this world, by charity unceasingly practised. There must not be any ostentation. To petitioners their request should always immediately be granted without any enquiry. These are the virtues of princes and these practices were proverbial of Premasáhi.

"33.—The fortunate Hridayeswara, resembling another new year, was the son of this illustrious prince; he was the giver of happiness to the just, and the glory of his ancestors.

"34.—Although he rules over the whole world, yet he particularly cherishes the unprotected; a cloud, though raining equally waters a valley most abundantly with rain.

"35.—By him were presented, and confirmed (by grants) on neat, copper-plates, to the Brahmanas, several villages encompassed by delightful groves, proud with splendid mansions, well inhabited, abounding with fine lakes, stocked with lotuses; pleasing from the continued noise in the temples (from the chaunting of the Vedas, &c., &c.) and everywhere possessing extensive (lands), fruitful with every kind of grain.

"36.—He cherished the whole of his own extended dominion, pleasant, from the attachment to the worship of the immortals, and in which hypocrisy was never known.

"37.—The universe and every monarch was obedient to the wishes of Hridayesa, by whom were inscribed on a wall of gold the fifty letters, resembling mighty elephants.

"38.—Who when in chase, on foot, slew with an arrow when springing on him, a mighty tiger, with forehead resembling a large dreadful serpent.

"39.—Regarding whom this is a saying of Indra; oh Arjuna, why are you dispirited? Oh illustrious immortals! What; do you not know that this prince Hridaya makes many Brahmanas on the earth equal to Indra?

"40.—The consort of this monarch was named Sundari, the mansion of good fortune, and beautiful as that treasure, virtue.

"41.—Through whom the earth was constantly filled with the enemies of the demons, dispelling the cause of the streams of poverty and pain, and was always (glutted) with the waters of real charity, with elephants resembling clouds, and (temples reeking) with streams of fragrant juice.

"42.—She cherished virtue by innumerable acts of holy munificence such as (causing to be made large wells, gardens, and reservoirs, and by numerous presents.

"43.—She caused this holy temple to be erected, and placed in it the (images of) Vishnu, Siva, Ganessa, Durgâ, and the Sun.

"44.—Sankara is competent to the praises of her, by whom Sridhara (Vishnu) and the other immortals are glorified, and have obtained a holy abode.

"45.—She caused the deities, Krishna, Vishnu, and others to be continually worshipped in this temple, by Brahmanas especially appointed, by offerings, banquets, and riches innumerable.

"46.—The monarch Hridaya conquered greatly through her, who is praised for her excessive energy, and resembles the light of the moon.

"47.—This account of the race of this prince was framed by the learned Jaya Govinda, by the order of Sukirti, a preceptor of the Mimânsa, and Vyâkarna, and who, by his own doctrines, conquered logic, and is skilled in the whole of the Vedas and their members.

"48.—This temple was built by the skilful artists Sinhasâhi, Dayarâma, and Bhagiratha.

"49.—Written by Sadâsiva in the year of the Samvat era 1724 (A.D. 1667), on Friday, the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the moon of the month of Jyeshtha, and engraven by the above artists."

In the inscription we find no mention of the romantic story given by Sleeman of the marriage of Yâdava Rai with Ratnâvali, the daughter of the Gond Râja of Garhâ. This Râja is said to have died in the Samvat year 415, when he was succeeded by his son-in-law Yâdava Rai. Sleeman refers this date to the Vikramâditya Samvat, equivalent to A.D. 358, and so does the native chronicler to whose papers Sleeman had access. But as the Chedi Samvat had already been established in A.D. 249, it seems more probable that the date must have been recorded in this era, which would then be 415+249=664 A.D., in close agreement with that calculated above by Wilson. According to Sleeman's reading 50 generations of princes reigned for 1,446 years (1804-358), which gives an average of nearly 29 years to each generation, a period too great for an oriental family. According to the proposed alteration, the whole duration of the 50 generations will be shortened to 1,140 years (1804-664), which gives an average of nearly 23 years to each generation. The following is a complete list of the kings according to the inscription, with the lengths of reigns according to Sleeman's infor-

mant, continued down to Sumer Sah, the last Râja, who was killed in 1804—

Gond Kings of Garha Mandala.

No.	A.D.		Years.	No.	A.D.		Years.
1	382	Yâdava Raya	5	32	1114	Bhârati Chandra	22
2	387	Mâdhava Sinha	33	33	1116	Madana Sinha	20
3	420	Jagannâtha	25	34	1156	Ugra Seva	36
4	445	Raghunâtha	64	35	1192	Râma Sâhi	24
5	509	Rudra Deva	28	36	1216	Tara Chanda	34
6	537	Bihâri Sinha	31	37	1250	Udaya Sinha	15
7	568	Nara Sinha Deva	33	38	1265	Bhânu Mitra	16
8	601	Sûrya Bhânu	29	39	1281	Bhawâni Dâsa	12
9	630	Vâsu Deva	18	40	1293	Siva Sinha	26
10	648	Gopâla Sâhi	21	41	1319	Hari Nârâyana	6
11	669	Bhupâla Sâhi	10	42	1325	Sabala Sinha	29
12	679	Gopinâtha	37	43	1354	Raja Sinha	31
13	726	Râma Chandra	13	44	1385	Dâdi Raya	37
14	729	Suratâna Sinha	29	45	1422	Goraksha Dâsa	26
15	758	Haribâra Deva	17	46	1448	Arjuna Sinha	32
16	775	Krishna Deva	14	47	1480	Sangrâma Sâhi	50
17	789	Jagat Sinha	9	48	1530	Dalapati	18
18	798	Mâha Sinha	23	49	1548	Vira Nârâyana	15
19	821	Durjana Malla	19	50	1563	Chandra Sâhi	12
20	840	Yasas Karnna	36	51	1575	Madhukâra Sâhi	20
21	876	Pratâpaditya	24	52	1599	Prema Nârâyana	11
22	900	Yasas Chandra	14	53	1610	Hridayeswara (Ins. S. 1724 = 1667).	71
23	914	Manohara Sinha	29	54	1681	Chatra Sâhi	7
24	943	Govinda Sinha	25	55	1688	Kesari Sâhi	3
25	968	Râma Chandra	21	56	1691	Narendra Sâhi	44
26	989	Karnnotha Ratna Sena	{ 16 21	57	1731	Mahârâja Sâhi	11
27	1026	Kamala Nayana	30	58	1742	Sivaraja Sâhi	7
28	1032	Narahari Deva	7	59	1749	Durjana Sâhi	2
29	1039	Vira Sinha	26	60	1751	Nizam Sâhi [d. A.D. 1776]	27
30	1065	Tribhûvana Raya	28	61	1728	Narahara Sâhi	3
31	1093	Prithivi Râja	21	62	1781	Sumer Sâhi	23
					1804	killed.	

There are several slight discrepancies in Sleeman's dates and lengths of reigns. But they are of no consequence in the earlier reigns; and in the later reigns the chronology can be adjusted by the true date of the death of Vira Nârâyana, who was killed during the invasion of Asaf Khan in A.H. 971, or A.D. 1563-64. In his text Sleeman states that Narendra Sâhi died in A.D. 1731.[1] Counting backwards from this year the death of Vira Nârâyana will be found to have occurred in A.D. 1563. I am, therefore, satisfied of the correctness of the chronology from the accession of Sangrâma Sâhi in A.D. 1480 down to the end of the dynasty. The earlier chronology is of comparatively little interest, as the aggrandizement of the family was due to Sangrâma Sâhi, who is said to have left 52 districts to his son, of which he had received only three or four from his father.[2]

The original seat of the family is said to have been at Garha, near Jabalpur, and the tenth Râja Gopâla is said to have built Gopâlpur to the west of Garha. But these statements are certainly untrue, as we possess numerous inscriptions of the Kalachuri sovereigns of Chedi, whose capital was at Tewar, or Tripura, close to Garha, which cover the whole of the 11th and 12th centuries. I believe, therefore, that the territories of this Gond family were originally limited to a few districts on the upper Narbada River, comprising Mandala, Pachel (or Shahpur), and Râmgarh, with the whole, or greater part, of Bâlâghât. In the list of Sangrâma Sâhi's 52 districts given by Sleeman at the end of his account, it will be seen that this prince had possession not only of the adjacent districts of Jabalpur, Damoh, and Sâgar, to the north of the Narbada, but that he had extended his conquests to the west, so as to include the whole of the present principality of Bhupâl. It is possible that the former districts may have been gradually acquired by some of his predecessors, but the districts of Kurwai, Râhtgarh, and Raisin, had certainly belonged to the Muhammadan kingdom of Mâlwa. On the decay of the Mâlwa power the eastern provinces around

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. VI, 635.
[2] Sleeman, Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. VI, 625.

Bhilsa may have fallen into the hands of Sangrâma Sâhi; but this could not have taken place until near the end of his reign, or about A.D. 1525-30. I have very strong doubts, however, as to their actual occupation by the Gonds, as in the year A.D. 1527-28 the Emperor Bâbar describes Raisin and Bhilsa as belonging to "Salâhuddin, the Pagan[1]", while only a few years later, on Sher Shah's invasion Raisin and Chanderi were ruled by Puran Mall on behalf of "the infant Râja Partâb, son of Bhupat Shah, the son of Salâhuddin.[2]" I am afraid, therefore, that the boasted conquest of Raisin must be set down as a mere raid. The occupation of other districts to the north of the Narbada is, however, most amply confirmed by the building of the great fort of Singorgarh by Sangrâm Sâhi, and its subsequent occupation by Dalpati and his Queen Durgâvati.

17.—MANDALA.

The fort of Mandala is picturesquely situated in a bend of the Narbada, where the river suddenly changing its westerly course sweeps first to the south, and then to the north, after which it resumes its north-westerly course towards Jabalpur. The fort is said to have been built by Narendra Sâhi, one of the Gond Rajas, who reigned from A.D. 1687 to 1731. There are numerous temples along the bank of the river, as the spot is considered a very holy one, owing to the northerly course of the Narbada. Similar reaches of the Ganges, where the river turns up to the north, are also esteemed holy, as Jâhngira, Kahalgaon, Mongir, &c. None of the existing temples are old; but, as the spot is a very holy one, it must have been occupied at an early date. The Brahmans identify it with Mahesmati, which is said to have been one of the ancient seats of the Haihaya Princes. Mandala is not properly the name of a place, as it means only a district. The original name may have been Mahesmati-Mandala, or Mahesmandala, which has now become simply Mandala.

[1] Baber's Memoirs in Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, 277.
[2] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, 378.

The town is, no doubt, old, although no ancient buildings now exist to attest its antiquity. I have noticed it here only because it appears to have been the chief town of one of the old divisions of the country in the time of the Haihaya Princes.

The fort is not strong; but it is very picturesque, with its numerous round towers overhanging the deep waters of the Narbada, which is here quite unfordable. As it has been described in some detail by Mr. Beglar, I need only add my testimony to his that Mandala could never have been a place of any great importance.[1]

18.—ARVI.

Arvi is a large town in the extreme west of the Nâgpur district and 30 miles to the north-west of Wardha. It is situated near the left bank of the Wardha River, and is one of the most flourishing towns in the Central Provinces, although it is said to be not more than 300 years old. Its foundation is attributed to Telang Rao-wali, at whose tomb both Hindus and Muhammadans now worship. The former assert that Telang Rao was a Brahman, as indeed his name of Rao would seem to indicate; but the Muhammadans claim him as a Musalman, a claim which is strongly supported by his title of Wali, and his existing tomb.

Two copper-plate inscriptions of a very early date, which were obtained at Arvi and Raypur by Colonel Bloomfield, are now deposited in the Nâgpur Museum. In the accompanying plates I have given copies of both of these records of two-thirds size, from carefully prepared paper impressions made during my late visit to Nâgpur.[2] The characters of these inscriptions are similar to those of the Seoni Plates of Pravara Sena, and the Râjim Plates of Tivara Deva.[3] The *Mâtras*, or heads of the letters, are all formed of squares, and

[1] Archæological Survey, Vol. VII.

[2] See Plates XXIV and XXV for the Arvi Inscription, and Plates XXVI and XXVII for the Raypur inscription.

[3] See Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, p. 508, for the Râjim Inscription, and Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. V, p. 72

they may, therefore, be appropriately named "box-headed." Each inscription consists of three plates with five small faces connected by a seal ring bearing a figure of Lakshmi standing between two elephants, which are anointing her from inverted water vessels held in their upraised trunks. Both inscriptions are dated; the earlier one in the year 5, and the later one in the year 80, of some era not mentioned. Both open with the words *Swasti Sarabhapura*, the latter being, as I suppose, the name of the town where the Chief resided. The earlier grant marked A, which was obtained at Arvi, gives the name of the Râja on the seal as *Sri-mat Ajaya Raja*, and in the text as *Sri Mahâjaya Raja*. The date is given at the end as *Samvatsara 5, Mârgasira 25* "in the year 5, the 25th of Mârgasira." The months were therefore solar, consisting of 30 and 31 days alternately.

The later grant marked B, which was obtained at Raypur, gives the name of *Sri Mahânsu Deva Râja*, and is dated at the end in *Samvatsara 80, Mâgha 9* "in the year 80 on the 9th of Mâgha," which is, no doubt, the solar month, as in the other inscription. The Raja's name may also be read as *Mahâsu Deva*.

On comparing these plates with those of Pravarasena of Vâkâtaka and Tivara Deva of Kosala, it seems pretty clear that the two Râjas mentioned in them belonged to neither of those countries. I think it probable that they may have been petty chiefs under the Rajas of Vâkâtaka, who take the title of *Parama Maheswara Mahârâja*. I notice, however, that Deva Gupta, whose daughter Prabhâvati Gupta married Prithivi Sena, is called by the still higher title of Mahârâja-*dhirâja* in both the Seoni and Sâgar grants of the Vakâtaka kings. It is possible, therefore, that the Râjas of the Arvi and Raypur Plates may also have been tributaries of the great Gupta kings of Northern India. There was, however, another line of Gupta kings who ruled over *Mahâ-Kosala* itself during the fourth century A.D., and in this line there is a *Deva Gupta*, according to the reading of Babu Rajendra Lâl. Chandra Gupta II, Vikramâditya of Northern India is also said to have been called *Deva Raja* by his subjects, and

is actually named "*Deva Sri Mahârâja*" on his coins. As Deva Gupta of Kosala was reigning in 450 to 475 A.D., the date of Pravarasena II, the grandson of Deva Gupta, cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 500, or just about the same period as Yayati Kesari of Orissa. I may here note that the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandra Gupta, which is dated in S. 82, or A.D. 248, is engraved in exactly the same box-headed characters as those of the Râjim, Seoni, and Arv-copper-plates.[1] So also my Eran inscription of Samudra Gupta is engraved in similar letters.[2]

I am informed that the earlier inscription marked A records the gift of the village of *Shamba* in Purvarâshtra to Brahma Deva Swâmi of the Vâjisaneya Sâkha, and Kaundinya Gotra, for the establishment of the temple of Dasapati Devata, by Ajaya Deva, Raja of Sarabhapura, for the increase of the merit of his father and mother and of himself. Then follows the usual quotation of the words of Vyâsa that the donor of land will enjoy sixty thousand years in heaven, while the resumer of land will suffer for the same period in hell.

The second inscription is said to be a grant of the village of Rayagrama[3] by Râja Ansu Deva or Mahâsu Deva of Sarabhapura to Savita Swâmi of the Vâjisaneya Sâkha, and Kaundinya gotra, an inhabitant of Sayika in Purvarashtra, and for the same purpose, that is, for the maintenance of the Temple of Dasapati Deva.

I have not been able to find any clue to the identification of Sarabhapura; but I cannot help suspecting that it may possibly be Arvi itself. In Western India the name of Sarabhapura would often be pronounced Arabh-pura, which might easily be shortened to Arbhi, or Arvi. It is, however, not improbable that Sarabhapura may have been the original name of Sambhalpur, as another copper-plate inscription of Mahâsu Deva was found at that place in 1864 by Lieutenant

[1] See Bhilsa Topes, Plate XXI, fig. 200, and Archæological Survey, Vol. X, Plate 19.

[2] See Archæological Survey, Vol. X, page 89, for a notice of this inscription.

[3] As these two plates were obtained at Raypur, I think that it may be identified with the Râmagrâma of the inscription.

G. Bowie. It opens exactly in the same way as the two inscriptions just described, with the words *swasti Sarabhapura*, &c. Unfortunately the third plate is missing, so that there is no date, but the remaining two plates are precisely similar to the Arvi and Raypur Plates, both in their small size, and in their box-headed characters. The following account and translation of the Sambhalpur inscription were published in 1866 by Babu Rajendralâla Mitra[1] :—

"The subjoined is the translation of a copper-plate inscription lately presented to the Society by Lieutenant G. Bowie, of the Police Corps. It records the gift of a village, named Chullandaraka in the district of Tundaraka, to certain learned Brahmans of the Kausika gotra. The name of the donor was Sri Mahâsudevarâja. Who he was is not mentioned, nor is any regal title assigned to him, but the epithets used show that he was a king or chief of some consequence. The patent alludes to a plâce named Sarabhapura, which the donor had conquered. It was probably the ancient name of Sambhalpur. Originally the document was inscribed on three tablets of copper, of which the last is not now forthcoming. Of the remaining plates, each of which measures 6½ × 3½ inches, the first is inscribed on one, and the second on both sides. The characters used are of the Nardrada type of the 7th century, very similar to that of the Seoni plates noticed by Prinsep (*ante*, Vol. V, page 726). But a few of the letters are peculiar, the most aberrant being the *kh*, *ṅ*, *n*, *bh* and *l*. The vowel mark for *o* in *mo* is curiously given with an • on the top and a *u* at foot. The loss of the date, which probably had been given in the third plate, and the absence of the donor's genealogy, deprives the record of all historical interest."

TRANSLATION.

"Greeting!' Sri Mahâsudevarâja, whose two feet are bathed by the ocean of light shed from the topmost jewels on the crowns of valiant chiefs coming from Sarabhapura, who has caused the parted hair of the wives of his enemies to be dishevelled, who is the bestower of wealth, land and kine, who is a staunch follower of Vishnu (Bhâgavata), and who devoutly reflects on the feet of his parents, to the householders of Chullandaraka, which is situated in (the district of) Tundaraka, thus addresseth, 'Be it known unto you, that this village, which to secure celestial pleasures for me, has been, for

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. XXXV, page 195. The old name of Sambhalpur is said to have been Samlai-garh.

the period of the duration of that earth, whose impenetrable darkness is dispelled by the light of the sun and moon and stars, along with all its mines and resources, unencumbered by lawsuits and aboriginal (?) claims, and free of all taxation, for the promotion of the virtue of my parents and myself, as well as of the estate and of the royal race, with our consent, by water and this copper-plate, patent, dedicated to Trisha Sravidya Bhâshkara Swâmi, Prabhâkara Swâmi, Barbbari Swâmi, Bodha Swâmi, Dotta Swâmi, Vishnu Swâmi, Phalgu Swâmi, Swâmikirti Swâmi, and Sânkara Swâmi, all of the Kansika gotra. Knowing this, may you remain obedient to their orders, and rendering them a due share of the produce, live in happiness and prosperity.' For future kings is this advice given. They who know ancient religion best declare that the maintenance of gifts (made by others) is more virtuous than beneficence. Hence the inclination of future generations can alone protect this land presented to Brahmans of pure lineage and high Vedic knowledge. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you. These verses of Vyâsa are here appropriate; "gold was the first born of Agni, Vaishnavas, the son of Surya," (the rest wanting).

Since the above was printed, and long after the Plates XXIV and XXV were printed off, I have learned from Colonel Bloomfield himself that the copper plates, which are said in the printed catalogue of the Nagpur Museum to have been found at Arvi, were actually obtained at Raypur, and were most probably found at Arang, a very old town, 20 miles to the east of Raypur. As the numbering of the Plates cannot now be altered, I have allowed the description of them to stand.

19.—SAMLAI GADI.[1]

From the establishment of the goddess Samlai dates the foundation of the Sambalpur town. About the year (Sambat) 1405, corresponding to A.D. 1348-49, Balrâm Deo having propitiated his brother Narsing Deo, the Mahârâja of Pâtna, received from him the country lying between the rivers Auga and Mahânadi as a gift. Balrâm at first resided at Chaur-

[1] The seven notices XIX to XXV, which follow, of places in the Sambhalpur and Pâtna districts are copied from a memorandum prepared by Râm Saran Ghosh. The paper was kindly communicated to me by Colonel Lucie Smith, the Commissioner of the Raypur Division.

pur, a village lying opposite to Sambalpur, on the other side of the river. Tradition says that once on a time Balrâm crossed the Mahânadi and came to the present site of Sambalpur for hunting. He set his hounds at a hare, which the dogs pursued for some distance. About half an hour after he found to his great surprise that the dogs were repulsed by the hare. He readily believed that there was something supernatural in the land which made a hare so bold, and at once made up his mind to construct his fort there. It was customary among the Chauhâns to name a newly-established town after their tutelar goddess. Both the fort and the goddess were named Samlai from a cotton tree, which was locally called *semal*.

There is a tradition that during the demolition of Hindu gods and goddesses by the Muhammadan General Kâlapahâr, the Pândahs of Puri fled with the image of Jagannâth, and buried it in Sonpur on the Mahanâdi, to the south of Sambalpur, and Kâlapahâr followed them to Sambalpur with his army. The goddess Samlai is said to have assumed the form of a milkmaid, and sold curds to his soldiers, which spread desolation among his army. The goddess then fought with Kâlapahâr, defeated him and captured his drum, the sound of which was said to have broken the limbs of the gods. The goddess was for some time enshrined in a thatched hut, and the present temple was built during the reign of Chatra Sai. It is of the Gothic[1] order, the plinth is about 16 feet high. Above the plinth the building is square, 21 feet 7 inches × 21 feet 7 inches. The arched roof commences at a height of 18 feet, and tapers to the height of 35 feet, where the gradual diminution of the bulk has been abruptly interrupted by a hip-knob, over which a gold pot and spire are placed. The arch is supported by abutments, each of which is gradually diminished 1 inch in size by each successive layer. The arch is an oblong vault, or half of an ellipse, with regular longitudinal furrows and elevations throughout the whole

[1] Râm-Saran uses this term in several places; apparently he means the Hindu tyle of architecture.

surface. Commencing from each corner at the base project four subordinate buildings 11 feet square. They are so situated that if the sides of the square base of the temple be produced, they will only touch two extremities of each of the buildings. Each of them has a domed roof, supported by six pillars. A hip-knob, pierced by an iron spike, adorns the top. Between these domes there are flat roofs supported by pillars, thus forming a square veranda on each side of the temple, with four domes at the corners, in the midst of which the steeple rises above all with a gilt pot and spire glitering in the sun-shine.

The temple is built of a kind of stone as durable as granite, cemented with lime mortar. The whole building is plastered; but in the course of time the surface has become mouldy. The image of Samlai is a large block of stone, in the middle of which is a projection resembling the mouth of a cow. The extremity of this projection has a groove of a thread-breath, which is called the mouth. At both sides of this projection, there are depressions, over which beaten gold leaf is placed as a substitute for eyes. The people say that Samlai came here after the overthrow of Râvana by Rama, and that the head is a representation of Durgâ. But this figure does not correspond with any of the forms of Durgâ described in the Hindu shastras. It seems probable, therefore, that she is the goddess of the Chauhâns by whom she was established here.

20.—SAMBALPUR FORT.

The next place of importance is the fort of Sambalpur. The frequent pillages, which the people suffered at the hands of the Mahrattas, naturally induced Ajit Singh to fortify that portion of the town in which his palace stood. With this view the Raja excavated a moat round the palace, the two ends of which joined the Mahânadi, one at the side on which the present city police station-house stands, and the other just at the west of Samlai Gadi. All round the palace thorny bambus were planted to form a barrier against invaders.

The bank of the Mahânadi from the Mohan Darwâza to the Samlai Gadi, a length of 2,443 feet, was defended by a stone wall, which was chiefly intended to protect the bank from the encroachment of the river. The height of the bank on which the walls are built is about 16 feet. There were towers erected at intervals on the walls. Six of these are still standing, and about as many more appear to have been destroyed in the course of the time. The height of the towers is about 18 feet. They were 72 feet in circumference, faced with stone walls, 3 feet thick, and filled in solid with earth, with embrasures for guns. The walls, and most of the towers, have come down in the course of time.

In the town there is a temple of Barâ Jagannâth. This appears to have been the first Vaishnava temple constructed in the Sambalpur district. The Rajas of this part of the country had a hereditary hatred for Vishnu, because the founder of their dynasty in Pâṭnâ, although a legitimate son of the chief of Orissa, was deprived of the succession to the throne in obedience to a mandate from Jagannâth. The few Vaishnava temples which are met with in this district were constructed by Brâhmans, who migrated here from Orissa. When Bansi Gopâl Deo, the brother of Mâdhukar Sahai, Raja of Sambalpur, embraced Vishnuism, he constructed this temple in the Sambat year 1716, or A.D. 1659. It is also of the Gothic order, 21 feet square. Immediately adjoining the front is a large hall, 24 feet square, which is roofed with nine hemispherical vaults. The door-frame of the temple is made of a reddish-coloured marble. On the architrave is carved an image of Krishna, sitting upon a lotus and playing a flute. On the right jamb of the door there are nine images carved. Inside the nine domes various figures are carved.[1] In one is a lotus; in a second there is also a lotus, on which Nârâyana is sitting with handsfolded. The third is the representation of the *Vastraharan* or "clothes-stealing," the trick which Krishna played with the milk-maids by carrying off their

[1] These I presume to be nine of the Avatâras of Vishnu; the tenth being represented by Krishna himself, over the door.—*A. Cunningham.*

clothes up a tree. The sculpture represents a large tree, with out-spreading branches, on one of which Krishna is sitting with the clothes of the milk-maids. Some of them are standing naked at the foot of the tree, and others are on the way, all begging him to give back their clothes. The fourth exhibits the grazing of cattle by Krishna in the forest. The images of the cows have been partly broken, but the trees, with their foliage, still display the skill of the artist.

The fifth is one of the amorous adventures of Krishna, who is represented playing his flute, encircled by the milk-maids. The sculpturing has been nicely finished. Inside the temple there are the images of Jagannâth, Balabhadrâ, and Subhadrâ, carved in wood.

21.—PÂTNÂ.

Pâtnâ appears to be the most ancient principality in this district. Long before the establishment of Sambalpur Pâtnâ already possessed temples and other buildings of artistic interest, as is evident from the fact that Balrâm Deo, a member of the Pâtnâ royal family, founded the Sambalpur town, and introduced into it the religious institutions already established at Pâtnâ. Thus, we find in Sambalpur the temple of the goddess Samlai, the Brahmapura temple, and the temple of Kusaleswara, all of which are imitations of similar religious buildings at Pâtnâ.

22.—KUSALESWARA.

The temple of Kusaleswara is situated not very far from the Pâtnâ Râjâ's house. In front of the temple is a hall, attached to which is a gateway. These are built of a kind of sandstone, with bricks and mortar. The old temple was broken down by Raja Bajra Hira Deo, who built the present temple dedicated to Kusaleswara. In the old temple of Patneswari, an image of Durgâ with ten arms was enshrined. The goddess is now worshipped in a thatched hut, adjacent to the temple. In front of the temple there is a small shrine, dedicated to Champâ Telini.

The following anecdote is related about the latter. The states of Pâtnâ and Bastar being conterminous, their chiefs were on hostile terms. Balrâm Deo, one of the Pâtnâ chiefs, having laid siege to the fort of Bastar, found that he was unable to take it. In this dilemma the chief began to worship Mauli, the tutelar goddess of the fort, who became propitiated, and said to the Raja that she would ensure his success if he would take her to Pâtnâ and worship her. The Raja agreed, and shortly after took the fort. On his way home he established images of the goddess at various places. As she was brought from Bastar, the goddess is now generally known in Pâtnâ by the name of Bastarin Mauli.

Some time afterwards the Bastar Raja, to take revenge, attacked Pâtnâ. The Raja of Pâtnâ, therefore, caused a priest to be under spiritual influence. The priest showed signs of intercourse with the goddess, and began to dance. At that moment the Raja of Bastar entered the fort with his men and cut off the priest's head. His trunk still continued to dance, but, as it was going forward, it at last fell down. The Raja from that day began to worship him. The name of the priest was Champa, and thenceforth the goddess was called Champa Telini. But some say that the trunk fell under a champa tree which gave rise to the name. In the front of the temple there are some square stone pillars. It is said that the ceremony of coronation of the Pâtnâ Rajas was performed here. There is an inscription in ancient character on one of the pillars, of which only the words "Pâtnâ Dandpat" can be deciphered; the rest is illegible.

23.—RANI JHORIAL.

The village of Rani Jhorial is included in pargannah Loha. It is said that in very ancient times there were about 120 temples, of which only about half the number can now be found. Situated on a rocky hill there is a cluster of small temples, four of which tower above the rest. At one corner of the hill there is a large tank of oval shape, dug out of the rock. Excepting at the two ghâts, which have regular stairs,

the tank slopes down from the bank to the centre. In the middle is an enclosure, in the centre of which was a temple dedicated to Bhairava, who is represented by a well-sculptured marble image. Within the enclosure land around the temple of Bhairava, are 61 human figures. Figures of certain birds are engraved upon another marble. They are the images of the 64 Joginis described in the Hindu Shâstras.[1] Not very far off, within a cave excavated in the hill, there is a colossal image of a male human being.

The largest of the temples is constructed of granite. It has a large hall attached to the front. On the door-frame there are inscriptions in Devanâgari characters to the following effect :—

"In the house situated in the north of the country called Trimhlal, Raja Someswara, Deva Bhattâraka established the gods Shâmeswara Someswara, and Siddheswari, and the goddess Lakshmi."

It is a Saivik temple, and, before the Khonds came here, there was an image of Siva in it. But, as the Khonds profaned the temple, the zemindâr of Bangauranda took up the image and enshrined it in his own house. Within the hall there is an image of Durgâ with four arms. Close to this temple there are three others in a dilapidated state. In the court-yard in front of the temple there are two human foot-marks carved on the floor. Such marks are sculptured in this country to represent the foot-prints of Lakshmi. The ignorant Khonds allege that the temple was the house of a seller of parched gram, but the inscriptions prove beyond doubt that Lakshmi and three cther gods were enshrined here.

Temple at Nandapâla.

According to an old tradition, two brothers, named Hari and Sahadeva, lived near the hill called Gandhamâdana. Jamuna, the wife of Hari, by chance went with a basket and an axe to the top of the hill to dig out some roots.

[1] This is the hypæthrœl temple of the Chaunsat Joginis, or "Sixty-four Joginis," which has been described by Mr. Beglar in Volume XIII of the Archæological Survey, page 129. He calls the place "Rânipur Jurâl," which is the same name that was given to me by the neighbouring chief of Kârond.—*A. Cunningham.*

In the course of digging milk issued out of the ground, and a noise like the mewing of a cat pronounced in articulate sounds—

"Oh Sobharâm, do not beat the god Narasinha Deva, who resides here."

This frightened Jamuna, who fled from the place, but on the next day she came there with her husband. The god Narasinha Deva favoured Hari, and ordered him to take him out for worship. Hari found there an image of a cat, which he took home. When the Raja of Râmpur heard of this, he built a temple at the southern foot of the hill. Its length is 21 feet, breadth 18 feet, and height 18 feet. Immediately attached to the temple is a long hall, 24 feet by 21 feet, with a domed roof. Stone masonry has been employed up to 12 feet in height, above which the temple is made of bricks and mud. The following inscription is to be found on the door frame:—

"Baijala Deva had the temple of Narasinha Nâth constructed on the Gandhamâdana hill, and made a gift of one hundred coins with the village Loisingha. It was consecrated by Loan Harson Panigrahi, sent by Baijal Singh."

At present the temple is occupied by Narasinha Deva. On the southern side of the hill there is a temple called *Dawul Durla*, after the name of the Rani who constructed it. Close to the temple is a thatched hut in which the image of Bhairrava is enshrined.

On this image, too, there is an inscription in old characters, from which only the words "Pâtnâ and Baijala Deva" can be deciphered; the rest of the inscription is not readable. The above name is also engraved in the hall attached to Narasinha Nâth's temple. Not very far off there is a large cave excavated in the side of the hill, within which are placed five colossal images representing the five Pândus, Yudhisthira, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sâhadeva, who were said to have spent a portion of their long period of banishment in this sequestered spot. The beauty of the scene is heightened by two springs of water, which issue out from a fountain on the top of the hill, and flow near the temples

on both sides. The whole place is covered with dense jangal, and it is said that, even in the hottest days of the year, the temperature is cool.

This is a famous place of pilgrimage; the pilgrims bathe in the waters of the springs, which, falling from a height, produce foam, white as curd, which leads them to believe that their sins have been washed away. The place is, therefore, called *Pâpharan* or *Pâpaharana*, because *pâp* is the native word for 'sin,' and *harana* 'absolution from sin.'

24.—TITIRLAGARH.

This village is included in pargannah Topa of Kordhaur in Pâtnâ. About a mile off from the village there is a temple in a valley to the north of a hill called Kammundai. A few side walls having been constructed within it, form the temple. The walls are made of bricks and mortar. The temple is dedicated to *Dhableswara,* an image of Siva. There is a road round the temple, which has a door to the west which opens to the road. The Khonds say that the road leads to a long distance within the hills. There are large valleys within the hills which are haunted by wild animals. Three years ago a Khond entered the valley through the road and came out on the opposite side. He said that there were numerous porcupines along the road. At the outside of the temple, close to the door, there is a stone image with its legs crossed and resting on the ground. The hands also are crossed; and above the head there is a snake with seven hoods. Outside the temple the remains of a large hall are to be found. A portion of the pillars of a side wall still exists. On the top of the hill the foundations of a brick building are discernible. Its dimensions are about 48 feet by 6 feet. The building seems never to have been completed. In the front there is a stone pillar on the face of which are images of the sun, moon, and of the hands of a female. Near the bottom of the pillar there is an image of Siva, before which there are two human figures confronting each other with folded hands. It seems that the pillar was constructed in commemoration of a certain Rani who became a sati.

25.—PUJÂRIPALI IN SÂRANGARH.

On 7th March 1880 I visited these temples. Two are still standing, and there are also the remains of what is said to have been the Rani's palace.

Both the temples are of brick, with stone casings carved in the usual ancient fashion. One of the temples has a Sanskrit inscription of considerable length. Both the temples appear to have been dedicated originally to Mahâdeva, but in one of them some hideous wooden idols from Jagannâth have now been placed. It is stated that 120 temples once stood in and about Pujâripali.

26.—MAHÂ-KOSALA, OR CHATTISGARH.

Mahâ-Kosala, or "Great Kosala," was so called to distinguish it from the smaller Kosala in Oudh to the north of the Ghâghra River. The latter is often styled *Uttara Kosala*, or "Northern Kosala," while the larger province is called *Dakshina Kosala*, or the "Southern Kosala."

Mahâ-Kosala comprised the whole of the upper valley of the Mahânadi and its tributaries, from the source of the Narbada at Amarkantak, on the north, to the source of the Mahânadi itself, near Kânker, on the south, and from the valley of the Wen-Gangâ, on the west, to the Hasda and Jonk rivers on the east. But these limits have often been extended, so as to embrace the hilly districts of Mandala and Bâlâghât, on the west up to the banks of the Wen-Gangâ, and the middle valley of the Mahânadi, on the east, down to Sambalpur and Sonpur. Under some of the earlier rulers the supremacy of the king of Mahâ-Kosala was acknowledged by the Rajas of Orissa. Thus, Yayâti Kesari in A.D. 481 (the ninth year of his reign) speaks of Siva Gupta of Mahâ-Kosala as the sovereign lord of the whole country.

Within its narrowest limits the province was 200 miles in length from north to south by 125 miles in breadth from east to west. At its greatest extent, excluding the tributary territory of Orissa, it formed a square of about 200 miles on each

side. At the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in A.D. 639 he describes the kingdom as 6,000 *li*, or 1,000 miles, in circuit, an extent which could have been attained by inclusion of the great district of Vâkâtaka, on the west, comprising the present districts of Chânda, Nâgpur and Seoni. With this addition the kingdom of Mahâ-Kosala would have been just 300 miles from west to east.

In the time of Ptolemy the province of Chattisgarh, or Mahâ-Kosala, appears as the country of the *Adisathri*, bounded on the south by the *Adisathron* range of mountains, and possessing a capital city named *Sageda metropolis*, with a fort in the north-east called *Balanti-purgon*. This last I take to be the famous stronghold of Bândhogarh in the extreme south of the Rewa territory, which in early times would, no doubt, have belonged to the powerful kingdom of Mahâ-Kosala. Accepting this identification, I would suggest that *Sageda* might be a contraction of *Chitrângadâpura*, which was the capital of Babhruvâhana, king of Chedi. Its other name of Manipura might, I think, have been derived from the life-restoring gem (*mani*) which Babhruvâhana wrested from the Nâgas for the purpose of restoring his father Arjuna to life. The city which possessed this gem would naturally have been called Manipura, just as the city which possessed the tooth of Buddha was named Dantipura.

In the Mahâbhârata the capital of Chedi is said to be situated on the Suktimati river, which itself derived its name from the Suktimâl mountains, in which it had its source. Now, Suktimâl was one of the seven mountain ranges of India; but unfortunately it has not yet been identified. It seems clear, however, that the Suktimati river must be the same as the Mahânadi, as the country of Mahâ-kosala, or Chedi, actually comprised all the valley of the Upper Mahânadi and its tributaries. The Suktimati mountain will, therefore, correspond with the high range of mountains to the south of Sehoa and Kânker, which gives rise to the Mahânadi, the Pairi, and the Seonath rivers, and which forms the boundary between Chattisgarh and the feudatory state of Bastar. For the same reason this range must be the Adisathron Mons of Ptolemy.

In fact, I have a very strong suspicion that the name of *Adisathra* is only a slightly altered reading of *Chattisgarh*, the *Adis* of the one being the *Chattis* of the other.

Most writers of the present day have adopted the native identification of Manipur with Ratanpur, as *Mani* and *Ratna* have the same meaning. But the fact that the capital of Chedi was situated on the Suktimati river most effectually bars the claim of Ratanpur, as there is no river of any kind near that place. So far as I have been able to follow up the ënquiry, all evidence seems to point to *Sirpur* (or Sripura), on the Mahânadi, as the ancient capital of the country. It is situated on the largest river in the province; it possesses the oldest inscriptions now existing in the country; it is said by the people to have been the capital of Babhruvâhan, one of the earliest known kings of Chedi; while its extensive ruins prove that it must at one time have been a large city.

The father of Chitrângadâ, the mother of Babhruvâhana, was Chitravâhana, king of Chedi. Now, one of the known names of the Mahânadi river is *Chitrot-pala;* and at Kharod Mr. Beglar was told that the Mahânadi river was anciently called the *Chitra Palavati* river. The southern limit of Sirpur is also said to have included the *Chirka Tâl.* Now, all these names I take to be derived from *Chitra* or *Chitrângadâ,* and I would infer that *Chitravâhana* was the king of Chitrângadâpura on the *Chitrot-pala* River. Chitrângadâ might easily be shortened to Ptolemy's *Sageda.*

But, besides the names, we have the evidence of several inscriptions and of the existing temples and other remains to prove that the oldest places in Chattisgarh are Sirpur, Râjim, and Arang. The copper-plate inscriptions of Arang, Raypur, and Râjim are of the same age as the stone inscriptions of Sirpur, and the Râjim copper-plates actually mention Sirpur by name, from which I think it probable that they may have belonged to that place, and not to Râjim, where they were found.

The oldest inscriptions at Ratanpur and other places in Northern Chattisgarh belong to the mediæval period of the 11th and 12th centuries. Sirpur, Arang, and Râjim are the only places that possess unmistakeable remains of an earlier

age, mounting up to the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The temples at Sirpur and Râjim also are quite different, both in plan and in style, to any others that I have seen in the Central Provinces. In Chattisgarh every building is attributed to the Haihaya princes. But the oldest inscriptions make no mention of the Haihaya race. Tivara Deva, of the Râjim copper-plates, calls himself a Pândava, and the later members of the same family are styled Chandravansis. As simple Chandravansis they might have been Haihayas also, but they could not have been Pândavas. We know from the Mahâbhârata that Babhruvâhana was the son of Arjuna, and therefore a Pândava, while *Chedipa* and the kings of Chedi are said to have been descendants of Kuru, and therefore Kauravas. The dominion of the Haihayas, who were Yâdavas, must consequently belong to a later date.

In the mediæval inscriptions the Haihayas are generally mentioned, with their title of kings of Chedi, as *Chedinarrendra, Chedindra*, and *Chediswara,* and the era which they use is called either the *Chedi Samvat* or the *Kalachuri Samvat.* Thus, one Ratanpur inscription of Samvat 866, A.D 1115, gives to Kokalla, the ancestor of Jâjalla Deva, the title of *Chediswara*, while a second from the same place dated in Vikramâditya Samvat 1207, or A.D. 1140, calls him Chedinarendra. An inscription from Malhâr, dated in Samvat 919 A.D. 1168, speaks of Prithvi Deva as being of the *Chedi-kula.* The Râjim inscription of Jagat Pâla, who married Prithvi Deva's daughter, is dated in the Kalachuri Samvat 896, or A.D. 1145. Another from Seorinârâyan, of only two years later, is also dated in the same era. It seems clear, therefore, that the name of Chedi in the 12th century embraced the whole district of Chattisgarh or Mahâ-kosala.

But there was at the same time another kingdom named Chedi, of which the capital was Tripura, or Tewar, close to Jabalpur on the Narbada. Here we know that Gayakarna Deva was reigning in Samvat 866, or A.D. 1115, in the very same year as Jâjalla Deva of the Ratanpur inscription. At that time, therefore, there existed two distinct kingdoms of Chedi, the one having its capital at Tripuri, on the Narbada,

and the other at Ratanpur, in Northern Chattisgarh. I think that I can see a probable solution of this difficulty in the genealogy given in the Ratanpur inscription of Jâjalla Deva (now in the Nâgpur Museum), which is as follows :—

Kârtavirya.
Kokalla Chediswara.
Ratna Râjâ.
Prithvi Deva.
Jâjalla Deva.

The Kokalla here mentioned I would identify with the second prince of that name, the conqueror of the Chandels, who has left an inscription at Khajurâho, dated in Samvat 1058, or A.D. 1001. To him, therefore, I would assign the sole sovereignty of Chedi in its widest extension from the eastern confines of Mâlwa to Sambalpur on the Mahânadi. Some time after his death I suppose the kingdom to have been divided, when Ratna Deva obtained the eastern provinces, and established his capital at Ratnapura in Northern Chattisgarh, while Western Chedi, or Dâhal, with the capital of Tripuri, fell to Karna Deva, the contemporary of Bhoja, and the conqueror of Kirthi Varmma Chandel of Mahoba.

Accepting this supposition as a probable explanation of the contemporary existence of these two kingdoms, each bearing the name of Chedi, it follows that the predecessors of Kokalla II, of the Western Chedi, or Dâhal, must have been also kings of the Eastern Chedi, or Chattisgarh. Unfortunately we do not possess a single inscription of this period from Chattisgarh for comparison with the genealogy of the princes of Dâhal, or Western Chedi. My assumption of the previous existence of a great kingdom of Chedi must, therefore, remain for the present as a mere guess. The fact that none of the names of the Chattisgarh Rajas, as preserved by the local chroniclers, agree with those of the Dâhal genealogy prior to Kokalla, is certainly against my supposition. This might be explained by identifying the Kokalla of the Ratanpur inscription with the first of the name in the genealogy of the Western kings, who must have reigned about A.D. 875, and was contemporary with Bhoja Deva of Kanauj. All that we

know of this particular period is limited to the notice of Hwen Thsang that in A.D. 639 the king of Mahâ-Kosala was a Kshatriya and a Buddhist. Perhaps some of his immediate predecessors were also Buddhists, as the Châlukya king Mangalisa is recorded to have defeated a Râjâ of Chedi named Buddha, about A.D. 550.

Although Hwen Thsang omits to mention the name of the king at the time of his visit in A.D. 639, yet he gives the name of the first king of the country as *So-to-po-ho*, or *Sadvaha*, as rendered by Julien. I should prefer to read the name as Satavâhan, or Sadavâhan, and to connect him with the family of Chitravâhan and Babhruvâhan of the Mahâbhârata. I think it probable that his name has been preserved by the native chroniclers in *Sudhyum*, who is the earliest king known to them. But Hwen Thsang's *Sotopoho* was a contemporary of Nâgârjuna, who probably flourished in the 1st or 2nd century of the Christian era. If he was connected with Babhruvâhan and Chitravâhan, he must have been a Pândava, and therefore also a Kaurava, or descendant of Kuru.

Now, the Haihayas were Yâdavas, or descendants of Yadu. There must, accordingly, have been two distinct dynasties of kings ruling over Chedi at different times. This is further proved by the fact that Vasu-Uparichara, the 6th in descent from Kuru, became king of Chedi and the father of Chedipa, and thus the progenitor of the Chedis. According to another account Jyâmagha, a descendant of Yadu, conquered the country along the Narbada, Mekala, Mrittikâvati, Suktimati, and the Rikshavat mountains. According to Wilson, quoting the Brahma Purâna, he established himself along the Rikshawat mountain, and dwelt in Suktimati. He was the ancestor of the Chaidyas, through his grandson "Kaisika, or Manivâhan, the father of Chedi, "whose descendants were called the Chaidya kings," amongst whom were Damaghosha and Sisupâla.

That both Pândavas and Yâdavas did actually reign over Mahâ-Kosala we learn from the inscriptions, as Tivara Deva, the king of Kosala, calls himself a Pândava, while in the later

inscriptions Prithvi Deva and Jâjalla claim descent from the Haihaya king Kârttavirya. I think also that I can trace the antagonism of the two races in the fact that 'Kakavarna' king of Chedi, was killed by a descendant of Sisupâla." As the latter was a Yâdava, the former would have been a Pândava of the family of Tivara Deva.

In the local chronicles it is stated that Sudhyum, the founder of the Haihaya dynasty was followed by three descendants, named respectively—

1	2	3
Nila-dhwâja, in Mahesmati, or Mandala.	Hansa-dhwaja, in Chandrapura, or Chânda.	Murta-dhwaja, in Manipura, or Chattisgarh.

No further mention is made of the first and second, but a romantic legend is told of the third, which connects his name with the old town of Arang in southern Kosala. According to the legend, Krishna, disguised as a Brahman, appeared before Murta-dhwaja, and asked that he would bestow on him one-half of his body. The pious Raja at once granted his request, and, just as he was about to be sawn in two from head to foot, Krishna observed a tear in one of his eyes, and began to upbraid him, because the tear showed that he regretted having consented to the sacrifice. But the Raja readily replied that the tear only showed the grief of that half of his body which the Brahman had not asked for. Krishna was so much pleased with this reply that he immediately revealed himself, and conferred his blessing on the devout Râjâ. It is said that the use of saws was prohibited from this time throughout Chattisgarh, and that the place where the sacrifice was demanded was named *Arang*, after the *âra* or "saw." It is believed by the people that the saw was not brought into use again in Chattiśgarh until the Mahratta conquest, in the middle of the last century. Murtadhwâja is the reputed founder of the great hill fort of *Lâpha*, 10 miles to the north of Ratanpur.

As no particular events are connected with the reigns of the next 18 princes, it will be sufficient to record their names—

1. Mûrta-dhwaja.
2. Tâmra-dhwaja.
3. Chitra-dhwâja.
4. Viswa-dhwaja.
5. Chandra-dhwaja.
6. Mahipâla-dhwaja.
7. Vikrama Sena.
8. Bhima Sena.
9. Kumâra Sena.
10. Karna Pâla, Karna tank at Ratanpur.
11. Kumâra Pâla.
12. Mera Pâla.
13. Mohana Pâla.
14. Jâjalla Deva.
15. Deva Pâla.
16. Bhupala.
17. Bhima Deva, Bhima tank at Jangjir.
18. Kama Deva.
19. Mahâdeva.
20. Sûra Deva.

During the reign of Sûra Deva, the kingdom is said to have been divided into Northern and Southern Chattisgarh, the former being retained by Sûra, with Lâpha as his capital, while the latter was bestowed on his younger brother Brahma Deva, who made Raypur his capital. In the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces this event is placed about A.D. 749. But, as the dates of Sûra Deva's immediate successors are all recorded in the Chedi era, which began from A.D. 249, the true date of Sûra Deva will be about A. D. 1000. Shortly after his time we have numerous inscriptions of the Haihaya princes, of which only one or two have yet been translated. The earliest which I have met with is on a reddish brown stone from Ratanpur, which is now in the Nâgpur Museum. It is dated in *Samvat* 866 *Mârga Sudi 9 Ravau*, or on "Sunday the 9th of the waxing moon in Samvat 866" =A.D. 1115, according to the Chedi era, which reckoning

agrees with the recorded week day. This inscription mentions—

Sri Kârttaviryya Haihaya.
Sri Kokalla, Chediswara.
Ratna Raja, Dakshina Kosala, Ratnapura.
Prithvi Deva, Ratnapura.
Jâjalla Deva, Sri Jâjallapura.

A second inscription on a black stone, also from Ratanpur, is dated in Samvat 1207, or A.D. 1150; and gives the names of—

Jâjalla Deva, Chedi Narendra.
Ratna Deva.
Prithvi Deva.

This has been translated by Babu Râjendra Lâl.

A third inscription on a black stone, also from Ratanpur, is dated in the *Kalachuri* Samvatsara 910, or A.D. 1159, and gives the name of—

Raja Srimat Prithvi Deva Vijaya rajye.

A fourth inscription, of 28 lines from *Malhâr*, is dated in Samvat 919, or A.D. 1168, and gives the names of—

Ratna Deva Bhûpati.
Prithvi Deva, Chedi Kula.

In Hall's Vishna Purâna, II, 173, note, I find that Sri Deva was the governor of *Malahari Mandala* in the reign of Prithvi Deva, king of Kosala.

Lastly, an inscription in the great temple at Râjim gives the name of Prithvi Deva with the date of Samvat 896, or A.D. 1145.

From all these sources the following genealogy is established, to which, for comparison, I have added the names given in the local chronicles:—

A.D.	Inscriptions.	Local chronicles.
1000	Kokalla.	Sûra Deva.
1030	Ratna Raja.	Prithvi Deva.
1060	Prithvi Deva.	Brahma Deva.
1090	Jâjalla Deva, A.D. 1115.	Rudra Deva.
1120	Ratna Deva.	Jâjalla Deva.
1140	Prithvi Deva, A.D. 1145 1150, 1159, 1168.	Ratna Deva.
		Vira Sinha Deva.
		Ratna Sinha Deva.

One fact of importance I derive from the Râjim inscription of Prithvi Deva, dated in A.D. 1150, namely, that the kingdom of Chedi was still undivided, just about a century and a half after the time of Sûra Deva, who is said by the local chroniclers to have given the southern half of the country to his younger brother Brahma Deva. Both Râjim and Kânker still belonged to Ratanpur. In the Nâgpur Museum there is an inscription, brought from Raypur, which gives the date of *Raya Brahma Deva* as Samvat 1458, Sake 1322, and the *Sarvajita Samvatsara* of the 60-year cycle of Jupiter, equivalent to A.D. 1401. It is to the time of this Raya Brahma Deva, therefore, that I would assign the division of the kingdom, and the foundation of Raypur, named after himself.

The local chronicles give the name of 28 more kings who reigned down to the Mahratta conquest in A.D. 1745. Their dates have been calculated by Mr. Chisholm; but, as the first of them is placed about one hundred years too early according to the dates given above for his predecessors, it is necessary to curtail the lengths of the reigns by a few years. Of this period I have obtained only one inscription of Dâdu Sâhi Deva, but unfortunately it is not dated. We have thus 28 names covering the long period from A.D. 1185 to 1745, or 560 years, which gives exactly 20 years to each reign. Accepting this rate as giving a useful approximation to the actual date of each king, the following list shows all the later kings down to the Mahratta conquest. According to Mr. Chisholm, Kalyan Sahi reigned from A.D. 1536 to 1573, but by the average duration of the reigns his period falls between 1505 and 1525. The average table, therefore, gives the true date within 20 or 30 years.

Long after the above was written I received from Colonel Lucie Smith, the able Commissioner of the Chattisgarh Division, several detailed lists of the Haihaya-bansi Rajas of Ratanpur and Raypur, from which I have drawn up the following tables. The Ratanpur list begins with Mayura Dhwaja, the son of Sudyumna, who was the reputed son of

Mount Vindhyâchal. He is said to have performed an Aswamedha, or Horse Sacrifice.

Haihaya Rajas of Ratanpur.

No.	Year.	
	B. C.	
1	857	Mayuradhwaja in Kali Yuga, 3958.
2	...	Tâmra-dhwaja.
3	...	Chitra-dhwaja.
4	...	Viswa-dhwaja.
5	...	Chandra-dhwaja.
6	...	Mukha Pâla.
7	57	Vikrama Sena, conquered by Vikramaditya of Mâlwa.
8	...	Bhima Sena, reigned 91 years.
9	...	Kumâra Sena, reigned 81 years.
10	...	Karna Pâla, reigned 78 years.
11	...	Kumâra Pâla, built Jânakipura.
12	...	Nara Pâla, built Drûg.
13	...	Mohana Pâla, built Dhanpur.
14	...	Jagat Pâla (or Jâjalla Pâla).
15	...	Deva Pâla.
16	...	Bhûri Pâla (or Phû Pâla).
	A. D.	
17	...	Bhûmi Pâla (or Bhima Pâla), built Bhimpur and Temples.
18	...	Kâma Deva.
19	...	Mohana Deva.
20	...	Sura Deva, reigned 60 years, conquered Telingâna.
21	...	Prithvi Deva, built Lâpha fort, conquered the whole country from Gujrât and Mâlwa to Bengal and Kalinga.
22	...	Râma Deva, built Malhâr.

No.	Year.	
	A. D.	
23	922	Venu Deva.
24	956	Jâjjala Deva, reigned 34 years.
25	990	Ratna Sena Deva, reigned 44 years.
26	1034	Vira Sinha Deva, built Âring city, 40 years.
27	1074	Ratna Sinha Jâjjalla Deva, reigned 40 years.
28	1114	Bhupâla Sinha, S. 1145, reigned 38 years.
29	1152	Karna Sena, 30 years.
30	1182	Bhânu Sinha, 39 years.
31	1221	Nri Sinha Deva, 30 years.
32	1251	Bhâna Sinha Deva, 25 years.
33	1276	Pratâpa Sinha Deva, 43 years.
34	1319	Jaya Sinha Deva, S. 1350—28 years.
35	1347	Dharma Sinha Deva, 22 years.
36	1369	Jagannâtha Sinha Deva, 38 years.
37	1407	Vira Sinha Deva, S. 1464—57=A. D. 1407, 19 years. In S. 1467=A. D. 1410, gave Raypur to his younger brother Kesava Deva.
38	1426	Kalmala Deva.
39	1436	Sankara Sahai.
40	1454	Mahana Sahai.
41	1472	Dâdu Sahai.
42	1497	Purushottama Sahai.
43	1519	Bâhara Sahai.
44	1546	Kalayâna Sahai.
45	1583	Lakshana Sahai.
46	1591	Sankara Sahai.
47	1606	Kumuda (or Mukunda) Sahai, 11 years.
48	1617	Tribhuvana Sahai, 15 years.
49	1632	Jagamohana Sahai, 13 years.

No.	Year.	
	A. D.	
50	1645	Adali Sahai, 14 years.
51	1659	Ranjita Sahai, 26 years.
52	1685	Takht Sinh, 14 years.
53	1699	Raja Sinha Deva, 21 years.
54	1720	Sirdâr Sinha, 20 years.
55	1740	Raghunnâth Sinha.
	1745	Mahratta conquest by Bhâskar Panth.

In some lists the Rajas from No. 39 downwards are named *Sâhi* and not *Sahai*. No. 44, Raja Kalyana Sinha, is said to have gone to Delhi in consequence of a dispute with Raja of Mandala. He received some title from Akbar, and returned to Ratanpur in Samvat 1628 or A.D. 1571.

Haihaya Rajas of Raypur.

The Haihaya Rajas of Raypur trace their descent from Keṣava Deva, the younger brother of Vira Sinha Deva, the 37th Prince of the Ratanpur line. He received the principality of Raypur in Samvat 1467 or A.D. 1410.

No.	Year.	
	A. D.	
1	1410	Kesava Deva.
2	1438	Bhuvaneswara Deva.
3	1463	Mâna Sinha Deva.
4	1478	Santokha Sinha Deva.
5	1498	Surta Sinha Deva.
6	1518	San. * * * .
7	1528	Chamanda Sinha Deva.
8	1563	Bansi Sinha Deva.

No.	Year.	
	A. D.	
9	1582	Dhana Sinha Deva.
10	1603	Jaita Sinha Deva.
11	1615	Phalê Sinha Deva.
12	1633	Yâdava Deva.
13	1650	Somadatta Deva.
14	1663	Bala Deva Sinha Deva.
15	1685	Umeda Sinha Deva.
16	1705	Banbira Sinha Deva.
17	1741	Amara Sinha Deva.
18	1753	Annexed by the Mahrattas.

According to the universal belief of the people, the whole of the plain country of Chattisgarh belonged to the Haihaya princes, while the hilly districts of Bâlâghât and of Bhandâra were occupied by the Gonds. The jungly districts to the north and east of the Mahânadi river would appear to have been occupied by the Baigas and Sabaras. Then the Haihayas, following the course of the Narbada, first displaced the Sabaras in Mandala (where the Baigas still remain) and the Gonds in Bâlâghât, and extended their sway over the plains of Chattisgarh (Mahâ Kosala) on the east, and over the undulating country of Lahnji on the south. But the Sabaras and Gonds must still have held all the more jungly tracts to the south-east and south-west as tributaries of the Haihayas. In the lapse of time the Gonds conquered Mandala from the degenerate Haihayas, and extended their sway over Kamarda, Sahaspur, and Khairagarh, and all the districts to the north of the Narbada, including Jabalpur, Khumbhi, Sâgar, and Dâmoh, which had once formed the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Dâhal or Chedi, whose capital was Tewar or Tripura, close to Jabalpur.

If we may judge from the date of the establishment of the Chedi or Kalachuri era in A.D. 249, the dominion of the

Haihayas on the Narbada cannot lay claim to a greater antiquity than the middle of the 3rd century A.D. But shortly after this time, or about 325 to 350 A.D., we know that Tivara Devâ's grandfather, the Pândava Raja Indrabala, was reigning over Kosala. It seems probable, therefore, that the Haihaya princes were still confined to the districts of Jabalpur and Mandala in the valley of the Narbada, and that they did not advance into Kosala until after the fall of the Pândava dynasty.

I have made numerous enquiries for the Haihaya Râjputs. Every body had heard of them, but no one knew where any one of them were now to be found. Only one representative was known, in the person of the descendant of the old Rajas of Raypur, who is now a pensioner. But soon after, when my camp was moving towards Allahabad, a large colony of 1,200 Kalachuris was discovered by Babu Jamna Shankar Bhatt at Raypur and Deha, 10 miles to the north-east of Rewa. Their leading men, who have the rank of Thâkurs, are Sâsdul Singh, Dalpratâp Singh and Dalhîr Singh. They call themselves *Kârachuli* Râjputs, and in official documents they are designated as *Kârchuli*. They say that they are Haihayas, the descendants of Sahasra Arjuna, that their ancestors came from Raypur-Ratanpur, and that their present residence was named after the capital of southern Kosala, from which they emigrated. Thâkur Sârdul Singh writes the name of his caste as Karâcholi or Karâchuli, which, Thâkur Dalhîr Singh says, means "sword" (Karâ) and "scabbard" (chuli). Several of these Thâkurs know Sanskrit. In the inscriptions their tribal name is variously written, in the north as Kalachuri, and in the south as Kalachurya, of which the meaning is unknown.

I could not hear of any other remnants of the once great Kalachuri clan, excepting only a few stragglers in the wildest parts of Sohâgpur, on the head waters of the Johila and Son rivers and in the neighbourhood of Bardhi on the Son river.

At some early date, however, a considerable branch of the Kalachuri family found its way to the banks of the Godâvari, where they seem to have reigned previous to the establishment

of the Châlukya kings of Kalyân. In the Yeür inscription the Châlukyas are designated as the destroyers of the authority of the Râshtrakutas and the Kalachuryas.[1] Mangalisa Châlukya, who reigned from A.D. 530 to 550, is specially mentioned as having ravished the power of the Kalachuris like a thunderbolt. From this time they would appear to have been tributary to the Châlukya kings, under whom they held the highest offices of the state. At length in the year 1153 A.D. Bijjala Deva Kalachuri, the commander-in-chief, expelled the Châlukya Raja, Tailapa Deva, who retired to Banawâsi.[2] Bijjala then assumed the royal title of Mahârâjâdhirâja, which is found in all his grants, followed by the well-known Kâlachuri title of Kâlanjarâdhipati, which was borne also by the Kalachuri Rajas of Chedi, thus showing that the southern and northern Kalachuris were branches of the same clan.

The origin of the southern branch is thus told by themselves—

"A Brahmani girl (*ilâmara putri*), having paid worship to Siva, seated on a hide, in order to obtain the fulfilment of her desires, she had a dream, in which Siva himself embraced her, and she conceived a portion of his glory. Having thus conceived, when nine months were accomplished, it happened that she bore a son named *Krishna,* possessed of great beauty, of surprising courage, bearing all the marks of fortune, famous in all learning.

"He slew in Kâlanjara, an evil spirit of a king, who was a cannibal and followed the occupation of a barber, thus obtaining great fame among all people. Placing him between the teeth of Yama, this king *Krishna*, by the might of his arms, took possession of the government of his kingdom, and reducing the "nine lakh" (country of) *Dahala Mandala* to obedience to his word, ruled in peace, an ornament of the *Kâlachuri Kula.*"

From this account it is clear that the Kâlachuris must have obtained possession of Kâlanjara at a very early date, long

[1] See Sir Walter Elliot in Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. IV, 39.

[2] I take this date from a Balagami inscription of Bijjalas' son Murâri Sovi Deva, which is dated "in the 16th auspicious Kalachurya year the year *Sarvadhâri*, the month Vaisakha, full-moon day, Sunday, during the eclipse of the moon." The year Sarvadhâri, with the eclipse of the moon in Vaisâkha, show that the date was the 25th March A.D. 1168. The 1st year of the Kalachurya sovereignty must, therefore, have been A.D. 1153.

before the reign of Mangalisa Châlukya in the 6th century. It seems highly probable, therefore, that the initial date of their era, A.D. 249, may refer to their conquest of Kâlanjara, and that their acquisition of Dâhala Mandala may be placed only a few years later, or before 300 A.D. At Dâhala, on the Narbada, the Kalachuris reigned from that time down to the end of the 12th century. During this long period of more than nine centuries, they pushed their arms in all directions—to Bhilsa on the west, to Chattisgarh on the east, and to the Godâvari on the south. Through all this long period they fondly cherished the memory of their early possession of the great fortress of Kâlanjara. But the symbol, or cognizance, of the Kalachuris of Chedi was simplified to the figure of a golden bull, *Suvarna-vrishabha-dhwaja*. On the seal of Karna Deva the bull is accompanied by the four-armed goddess Pârvati, seated with an elephant on each side anointing her. The coins of Gânggeya Deva, the son of Karna, show the same figure of the seated goddess with four arms, but without the elephant.

According to the Purânas, amongst the early successors of the Andhra kings were the Kailakila Yavanas, who reigned for 106 years. It seems probable that the Yavana conqueror of Orissa, named Rakta-bâhu, or "red arm," may have belonged to this family. Bhau-dâji has identified these Kailakila Yavanas with the dynasty of kings who ruled over Vâkâtaka. But, with the single exception of Vindhyasakti, who heads the list, the names are all different. I do not feel satisfied that the Ajanta inscription makes Pravarasena to be the son of Vindhyasakti. I take him to be simply a descendant. Accepting this supposition, the names of the Vishnu Purâna and of the two Vâkâtaka inscriptions from Seoni and Sâgar may be arranged separately, those of the Purâna preceding those of the inscriptions. In a former volume I have identified the capital of Vâkâtaka, or Bâkâtaka, with the old town of Bhândak between Nâgpur and Chânda, and I still adhere to this identification as being a highly probable one. After these Kailakila Yavanas come three Bahlikas, who, with Pushpamitra and Patumitra and others, will reign over *Mekala*. Now Mekala is the

name of the mountain range in which the Narbada rises. Hence the river goddess is called *Mekala Kanya*, or "Mekala's daughter." The Mekalas, therefore, would have possessed the northern parts of the district of Chattisgarh. These Mekalas, it is said, would be 7 in number, and the kings of Kosala 9. The Vâyu Purâna, however, calls these kings of Kosala *Meghas* "strong and sapient."

Now, I have a suspicion that the Rajas mentioned in the oldest inscriptions of Râjim, Sirpur and Orissa, may be some of these very nine kings of Kosala.

Inscriptions.

A.D.	Rajim.	Sirpur.	Orissa.
325	Indrabala.	Indrabala.	
350	Nanna Deva.	Nanna Deva.	
375	Tivara Deva.	Chandra Gupta.	
400	...	Harsha Gupta.	
425	...	Siva Gupta.	Siva Gupta.
450	...	...	Bhava (or Deva) Gupta.
475	...	...	Siva Gupta II.
500			

The dates here given rest on my identification of Siva Gupta of the Sirpur inscriptions with Siva Gupta I, of the copper-plate inscriptions of Orissa. There are two kings of this name in these last records—one the father of Bhava (or Deva) Gupta, and the other Bhava Guptâ's son. Now, the latter was the paramount sovereign of Dakshina Kosala in the 9th year of Yayâti, Raja of Orissa, who reigned from A.D. 474 to 526. The 9th year of Yayâti was, therefore, A.D. 482. Allowing 25 years to each generation, the date of Indrabala, the first king of the family, will fall about A. D. 325—or, say, in A.D. 319, on the close of the Gupta rule in Central India.

The reign of Bhava Gupta, or Deva Gupta, as his name is read by Babu Rajendro Lâl, very probably exceeded the 25

years' average of a single generation, as he was the paramount sovereign both in the 6th and in the 31st year of Janamejaya, Raja of Orissa, and father of Yayâti.

The Purânas do not mention the caste of the nine kings of Kosala; but, according to the inscriptions, the kings noted above were all Kshatriyâs of the lunar race. Tivara Deva is called a Pându-vansi in the Râjim inscription, and each of the three Rajas in the Orissa inscriptions is called the *Somatilaka*, or the chief of the lunar race. They were all devoted worshippers of Siva and Vishnu, as declared by their titles of *paramâ Maheswara* and *paramâ Bhâgavata*, as well as by the numerous Brahmanical temples which were erected during their sway.

About a century and a half later, or in A.D. 639, when Mahâ Kosala was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang, the king was a Buddhist, although he was still a Kshatriya. There are, however, very few traces of Buddhism now remaining in Chattisgarh, and I conclude, therefore, that the Brahmans must have regained the ascendancy very soon after the pilgrim's visit. I think it probable that this Brahmanical ascendancy may have been brought about by a change of dynasty when the old Pândava family was supplanted by the Yâdava Haihayas. This change of dynasty I suppose to have been effected about A.D. 1000 by Kokalla Haihaya, whose son, Ratna Raja, most probably founded Ratanpur, which became from that time the capital of the Haihaya kings.

Contemporary with the lunar princes of Mahâ Kosala were the Sena Rajas of Vâkâtaka, whom Bhau-dâji has identified with the Kailakila Yavans of the Purânas, the descendants of Vindhya Sakti. But the Senas of Vâkâtaka claim descent from the Rishi Vishnu Rudra, which is probably the true name of Vindhya Sakti. According to the Vishnu Purâna, there were nine immediate descendants of Vindhya Sakti, who reigned for 106 years; after whom come 13 sons (not named), then Bâhlikas, and Pushpamitra and Patumitra and others, to the number of 13, who ruled over Mekala. I suppose that Pravara Sena and his descendants of the Seoni and Sâgar inscriptions may be amongst the 13 sons, who followed the

10th king after a lapse of 106 years. In these inscriptions also it is noted that Rudra Sena II married Prabhâvati Guptâ, the daughter of the paramount king Deva Gupta, whom I would identify with Deva Gupta of the Kosala line, who bears the same high title. The following list of the kings of Vâkâtaka, Kosala, and Orissa, shows the probable dates of these princes, founded on the identifications which I have proposed:—

A.D.	Kailakila Yavanas of Vakatakas.	A.D.	Pandavas of Maha Kosala.	A.D.	Yavanas of Orissa.
294	Vindhya Sakti	319	Indrabala	319	Rakta-bâhu and his descendants, 146 years, from 319 to 474 A.D.
	9 descendants for 106 years.	350	Nanna Deva	...	
		375	Tivara D. + Chandra G.	...	
400	Pravara Sena I	400	Harsha Gupta	...	
425	Rudra Sena I	425	Siva Gupta I	...	*Kesaris.*
450	Prithivi Sena	450	Bhava (or *Deva*) Gupta	...	Jenamejaya.
475	Rudra Sena II	475	Siva Gupta II	474	Yayati Kesari.
500	Pravara Sena II	500	...	500	...
525	Deva Sena	525	...	526	Surjya Kesari.
550	...	550	...	550	...

From the time of the Somavansi Raja Siva Gupta II about the beginning of the 5th century, down to the time of the Haihaya Prince Ratna Raja, the presumed founder of Ratanpur about A.D. 1030, we have only a few inscriptions from Sirpur, Râjim, and Raypur (or Drûg), all of which belong to the 7th or 8th century. The Râjim inscription gives the name of Prithvi Raja, and the Raypur (or Drûg) inscription gives the name of Raja Siva Deva. But there is nothing to show whether they belonged to the same family, nor whether they were paramount rulers of Mahâ Kosala, or only feudatory chiefs who reigned over the districts where these inscriptions were found.

27.—KARRA.

The ancient town of Karra is situated at the lower end of a reach of the Ganges, 6 miles to the south of Mânikpur and 37 miles to the north-west of Allahabad. It is reckoned as one of the nine holy places of Northern India, and the following verse is quoted in proof of this belief :—

Renuka, Sukara, Kâsi, Kâli, Kâla, Bateswarâh,
Kâlanjarah, Mahâkâlâ, Ukhala nava Kîrttuâh.

"Renuka (near Agra), Sukara (or Soron), Kâsi (Benares), Kâli, Kâla (or Karra), Bateswara (two of this name), Kâlanjara, Mahâkâla (or Ujam), are the nine famous Ukhalas."

Ukhala is said to mean "a holy place." At Karra there is a temple of *Kâleswara*, from which the place has received the name of *Kâlukhala*, or the "Ukhala of Kâla." It is, in fact, so named in a copper-plate inscription which was brought to me as one of the most ancient monuments of the place. The plate, however, is dated during the reign of *Akbar Shâh Gâzi* in Samvat 965 (*i e.*, Hijra, the third year of Akbar's reign), and records a grant made by Raja Râmachandra of Rewa. Karra, however, is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage by Ibn Batuta 550 years ago.

The town is also said to have been called Karkotaknagar, because the hand (*kar*) of Sati fell down here, when she burned herself at her father's sacrifice (*jag*). But this name is not known to the people.

The fort of Karra stands on a very lofty mound overlooking the Ganges. It rises up about 120 feet above the river bed, and from 80 to 90 feet above the road at its base. The walls are of brick, faced with stone ; the older, or Hindu, portion being of massive blocks of sandstone. The whole is now in a ruinous state. The fort is 900 feet long from north to south by 450 feet broad from east to west. Its foundation is attributed to Jay Chand, the last Hindu Raja of Kanauj, while Mânikpur is said to have been built by his brother Mânik Chand. Of course, it belonged to Jay Chand, but the place

is certainly very much older, as I obtained several early Hindu coins, including one punch-marked silver coin, two cast coins without legend, and one large Kosâmbi coin, besides a great number of rust-eaten pieces, too far gone to be recognised. I conclude, therefore, that the fort must have been occupied before the Christian era. It is certain, however, that it was long anterior to Jay Chand, as an inscription which was formerly on the gateway, and is now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, is dated in Samvat 1092 (or A.D. 1035), during the reign of Raja Yasah Pâla. This record is, therefore, 160 years anterior to Jay Chand.

Kaṛra is famous for the tomb of a very holy saint named Khwâja Kaṛrak, which is said to be 600 years old. It consists of an oblong canopy, 7 feet 4 inches by 3 feet, supported on pillars, which covers a common plaster tomb, screened by a cloth. His father came from Sabzwâr to the south of Herât. The saint himself was living at Kaṛra when the emperor Jalâl-ud-din Firoz Khalji was treacherously murdered by his nephew Alâ-ud-din Muhammad. According to Ferishta—

"The day before this event took place, Alâ-ud-din visited a reverend sage, named Shekh Karrak, whose tomb is still held sacred. That holy man, rising from his pillow, repeated the following *ex-tempore* verse :—

'He who cometh against thee shall lose his head in the Boat
'And his body shall be thrown into the Ganges."

I conclude that the holy man must have seen through Alâ-ud-din's designs, and thus craftily obtained the credit of a prophet.

The murder was perpetrated on the 17th Ramzân, in the year 695, when "the Ganges was very high," that is, on the 27th July A.D. 1296. The event is thus related by Zia-ud-din Barni[1] :—

"Alâ-ud-din and his followers had determined on the course to be adopted before the Sultân arrived. He had crossed the river with the elephants and treasure, and had taken part with his forces between Mânikpur and Kaṛrah, the Ganges being very high. When the royal

[1] H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, Vol. III, page 153.

ensign came in sight, he was all prepared, and the men were armed, and the elephants and horses were harnessed. Alâ-ud-din sent Almâs Beg in a small boat to the Sultân, with directions to use every device to induce him to leave behind the thousand men he had brought with him, and to come with only a few personal attendants. The traitor Almâs Beg hastened to the Sultân, and perceived several boats full of horsemen around him. He told the Sultân that his brother had left the city, and God only knew where he would have gone to if he (Amlâs Beg) had not been sent to him. If the Sultân did not make more haste to meet him, he would kill himself, and his treasure would be plündered. If his brother were to see these armed men with the Sultân he would destroy himself. The Sultân accordingly directed that the horsemen and boats should remain by the side of the river, whilst he, with two boats and a few personal attendants and friends, passed over to the other side. When the two boats had started, and the angel of destiny had come still nearer, the traitor Almâs Beg desired the Sultân to direct his attendants to lay aside their arms, lest his brother should see them as they approached nearer and be frightened. The Sultân, about to become a martyr, did not detect the drift of this insidious proposition, but directed his followers to disarm. As the boats reached mid-stream, the army of Alâ-ud-din was perceived all under arms, the elephants and horses harnessed, and in several places troops of horsemen ready for action. When the nobles who accompanied the Sultân saw this, they knew that Almâs Beg had by his plausibility brought his patron into a snare, and they gave themselves up for lost ***. Malik Khuram, *Wakildar*, asked *** "What is the meaning of all this ?" and Almâs Beg, perceiving that his treachery was detected, said his brother was anxious that his army should pay homage to his master.

"The Sultan was so blinded by his destiny that, although his own eyes saw the treachery, he would not return, but he said to Almâs Beg, 'I have come so far in a little boat to meet your brother, cannot he, and does not his heart induce him to, advance to meet me with due respect.' The traitor replied, 'My brother's intention is to await Your Majesty at the landing-place, with the elephants and treasure and jewels, and there to present his officers.' *** The Sultân trusting implicitly in them, who were his nephew's son-in-law and foster-children, did not awake and detect the obvious intention. He took the Kurân and read it, and proceeded fearless and confiding as a father to his sons. All the people who were in the boat with him saw death plainly before them, and began to repeat the chapter appropriate to men in sight of death. The Sultân reached the shore before afternoon prayer, and disembarked with a few followers.

Alâ-ud-din advanced to receive him, he and all his officers showing due respect. When he reached the Sultân he fell at his feet, and the Sultân, treating him as a son, kissed his eyes and cheek, stroked his beard, gave him two loving taps upon the cheek, and said, 'I have brought thee up from infancy; why art thou afraid of me?' *** The Sultân took Alâ-ud-din's hand, and at that moment the stony hearted traitor gave the fatal signal. Muhammad Salim, of Samânâ, a bad fellow of bad family, struck at the Sultân with a sword, but the blow fell short, and cut his own hand. He again struck and wounded the Sultân, who ran towards the river, crying, 'Ah, thou villain Alâ-ud-din! what hast thou done?' Ikhtiyâr-ud-din Hud ran after the betrayed monarch, threw him down, and cut off his head, and bore it dripping with blood to Alâ-ud-din. **** Some of those persons who accompanied the Sultân had landed; and others remained in the boats; but all were slain. Villany and treachery, and murderous feelings, covetousness and desire of riches, thus did their work ****.

"The murder was perpetrated on the 17th Ramzân, and the venerable head of the Sultân was placed on a spear and paraded about. When the rebels returned to Karra Mânikpur, it was also paraded there, and was afterwards sent to be exhibited in Oudh."

The earliest historical mention of Karra that I have met with is in A.H. 645, or A.D. 1248, during the reign of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, when the army under Ulugh Khan (afterwards the emperor Balban) marched to Karra. In the neighbourhood there was a Râna named *Dalaki-wa-malaki*, "over whom the Rais of Kâlinjar and Malwa had no authority."[1] The strange name of *Dalaki-wa-malaki* has not yet been identified; but, as his home was "in the vicinity of the Jumna between Kâlinjara and Karra," it may very probably have been the large town of Kosam, which is the representative of the famous ancient city of Kosâmbi. In the inscription of Yasah Pâla, the town of Karra is described as being in the *Kosâmbi Mundala* in A.D. 1035, at which time Kosâmbi must have been the principal city in the lower Gangetic Doâb.

With the advent of the Muhammadans Kosâmbi would seem to have given way to Karra as the seat of government, as Kosam is never mentioned, while governors are regularly

[1] H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. II, 348—66.

appointed to Kaṛṛa, which soon became the chief point for crossing the Ganges. Thus, when the emperor Balban died, his son Nâsir-ud-din, who was in Bengal, advanced with an army towards Delhi to oppose him—

"They met," says Ibn Batuta, "near the town of Kaṛṛa, on the banks of the Ganges, a place to which Hindus resort in pilgrimage. Nasir-ud-din encamped upon the Kaṛṛa side of the river, and his son Sultân Muiz-ud-din upon the other, so that the river ran between them. They were resolved upon fighting each other; but God wished to spare the blood of Musalmans, and imbued the heart of Nasir-ud-din with feelings of pity for his son. So he said to himself, 'If my son reigns, it will be an honour to me; it is only right, then, that I should desire that.' At the same time God filled the heart of Muiz-ud-din with sentiments of submission to his father. Each of these two princes entered a boat, and, without any escort of troops, they met in the middle of the river. The Sultân kissed the foot of his father and made his excuses; and the latter replied, 'I give thee my kingdom, and confide the government of it to thee.' Thereupon he took the oath of fidelity, and was about to return to the provinces he possessed, when his son said; 'You must certainly come into my kingdom.' The father and son proceeded together towards Delhi, and entered the palace. The father placed Muiz-ud-din upon the throne, and stood before him. The interview which they had upon the river was called 'the conjunction of the Two Auspicious Stars,' because of its happy results in sparing the blood of the people, and in causing the father and son to offer to each other the kingdom, and to abstain from fighting. Many poets have celebrated this incident."[1]

In A.H. 656, or A.D. 1258, Arslân Khân was appointed governor of Kaṛṛa; and in A.H. 691, or A.D. 1292, Alâ-ud-din held the same post under his uncle Jalâl-ud-din Firoz. In A.H. 760, or A.D. 1359, Firoz Tughlak, when returning from his campaign in Bengal towards Delhi, left his luggage at Kaṛṛa, and proceeded to Jâjnagar. In A.H. 900, or A.D. 1494, Sikandar Lodi marched *viâ* Kaṛṛa to Dalmau. Bâber halted at Dakdaki, a pargana of Kaṛṛa on the bank of the Ganges; and Humâyun crossed the Ganges at Kaṛṛa to join his father.[2] It was from Kaṛṛa that Asaf Khân, in

[1] H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. III, 596.
[2] H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. IV, 266—82.

the early part of Akbar's reign, started on his plundering expedition against Durgâvati, queen of Garha-Mandala. In A.H. 974, or A.D. 1566, Akbar marched in person against the rebel Khân Zamân. The emperor crossed the Ganges at Mânikpur and slept at Karra, and on the following morning he defeated the rebels at Fatehpur, 7 miles to the south-east of Karra, and in the afternoon rode to Allahabad, distant more than 30 miles.

Karra, with Fatehpur Hanswa, was the *Jâgir* of Kamâl Khân Gakkar. As one of the turbulent Gakkar chiefs, he had been imprisoned by Sher Shah in the fort of Gwalior. Afterwards, when the prison was blown up by order of Islâm Shah, Kamâl had the singular fortune of escaping quite unhurt. Islâm Shah then let him go, as he thought that it was not God's will that one who had so miraculously escaped should be killed.[1] When Akbar came to the throne, Kamâl paid his allegiance to the young sovereign, and received the parganas of Fatehpur-Hanswa, and Karra-Mânikpur in Jâgir. Here he behaved so gallantly that Akbar restored him to his native land, and ordered his usurping uncle Adam Khan to give up half of the Gakkar territory to him.[2] Adam resisted, but, being defeated, was made over to Kamâl, who thus obtained possession of the whole of the Gakkar country. The date of his death is uncertain. Blochmann states that he was certainly alive in the middle of A.H. 972, or A.D. 1564, and Mr. Delmerick places his death in A. H. 989, or A.D. 1581.[3] I can find no notice of the place of his death, but there is a large stone tomb at Karra, which bears the name of Kamâl Khân, which is said to be his, and close by on the north-west there is the village of Kamâlpur, which still retains his name.

The tomb of Kamâl Khân is very like one of the later Pathân buildings at Delhi. It is a square of 33 feet outside, with a chamber of 24¼ feet. Just below the springing of

[1] H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. V, 278.
[2] Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, page 320.
[3] Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. XL, 96.

the dome the square is changed to an octagon, on which stands a plain hemispherical dome, surmounted by a tall, thin pinnacle. The tomb stands in the middle of a courtyard, with domed entrance-rooms on the north and south and east sides, and a Masjid on the west. At the four corners there are massive round towers, with domed roofs and ornamented battlements. The surrounding walls also have the similar ornamented battlements, and, altogether, the tomb of Kamâl Khân is a fine specimen of the later Pathân architecture.

The ruins of Kaṛṛa extend for upwards of two miles along the western bank of the Ganges, with something more than a mile in breadth. The present town is only a mere shadow of its ancient grandeur. On ascending one of the rising grounds, everywhere, as far as the eye can reach, there is a vast expanse of mounds covered with ruined tombs and mosques, and idgahs. The place looks just like a portion of old Delhi, where the dead occupy much more ground than the living.

The decay of Kaṛṛa began with the removal of the head-quarters of the district to Allahabad, after the foundation of the fort by Akbar in A.D. 1575. Just as Kaṛṛa superseded the Hindu Kosâmbi by the transfer of the seat of government about A.D. 1200, so did Kaṛṛa itself suffer by the transfer of the head-quarters of the Lower Antarbed, or Gangetic Doab, to Allahabad. Before the change Sirkâr Kaṛṛa comprised both Hathgaon and Fatehpur-Haswa, both of which places will be described presently.

At Bâjâr Ghât, immediately below the fort, there is a small desecrated Hindu temple surrounded by a Chabutra, or terrace, near which there is a headless figure of Durgâ, besides a Lingam and a figure of Nandi, to show that the temple must have been dedicated to Siva. The present Chabutra was built in A.H. 1111, or A.D. 1699, as recorded in a Persian inscription let into the wall. A short distance below the ghât there is a well standing in the bed of the river, which the people call the *Minâr*, as it looks like a stout hollow pillar. But it is simply a well, which the Ganges has isolated by its encroachments.

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Karṛa is still much frequented by pilgrims, more particularly on the 7th, 8th and 9th of the waning moon of Ashâdha, when about one hundred thousand people are said to assemble for the purpose of bathing. Smaller *mêlas* are held on the 8th day of the waning moons of Chaitra and Srâvana, when from ten to fifteen thousand people assemble. The 8th day of wane, which is the principal day of assembly in all three meetings, is the last quarter of the moon, but no reason was given for choosing this particular day.

The only inscription from Karṛa that has yet been made public is that which was taken from the gate of the fort early in the present century. The position which it occupied is still remembered, and Pandit Bishambar Nâth gave me what was believed to be an accurate copy of it. The stone is now in the Indian Museum, and a facsimile of the inscription was published by James Prinsep.[1] Colebrooke published a brief notice of it, which Prinsep corrected in a few letters—

"Still," he says, "with these emendations the contents hardly bear complete explanation, though the general object is clear. It states that in Sambat 1092 (A.D. 1035) on the 1st of the light half of *Ashâdha*, the paramount sovereign Yaso-pâla of *Kâṭe*, at the village of *Payahâsa*, in the kingdom of *Kausâmbi*, issues commands to the principal persons * * *"

The only other record is a copper-plate, of which I was allowed to take a copy. It records a grant made by Raja Râmachandra of Rewa in Samvat (*i.e.*, Hijra) 965, which was the third year of Akbar's reign. The engraving is very rude and very difficult to read.

28.—APHUI.

Rashid-ud-din, quoting Al Biruni's geographical notes on India, says[2]—

"In going towards the south (from Kanauj, between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, you arrive at a place called Jâjman. At a dis-

[1] Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. V, 731.

[2] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians by Dowson, Vol. I, 54, 55.

tance of 12 parasangs from that is Karwa; from Karwa to Bramashk 8; thence to Abhâbûdi (or Aphapuri) 8; thence to the tree of Barâgi (Prâg) 12."

For *Karwa* we should certainly read *Kora*, a large town on the old road to Allahabad. Reinaud has *Karha*, *Aphapuri* or *Abhapuri*, and *Barhamshal*.[1] Following the old high road, which still exists, from Jâjmau to Allahabad, the different stations mentioned by Al Biruni may be, with some confidence, identified with the following places:—

Jâjman	. 12	parasangs	= Jâjmau	. 54	miles
Karwâ	. 8	,,	= Kora	. 24	,,
Brahmashk	. 8	,,	= Hanswa	. 30	,,
Aphapuri	. 8	,,	= Aphüi	. 30	,,
Prayâgi	. 12	,,	= Prayâg	. 46	,,
	48	parasangs		184	miles

Hanswa is a very old town near Fatehpur, the two names being usually joined together as Fatehpur-Hanswa. Aphüi, or Aphuri, as it is also spelt in the maps, is a very old place, with a mound 10 to 12 feet in height, covered with broken bricks. The mound is called Choki, because it was one of the stages on the old Hindu road leading through Karra to Prayâg. There are several fragments of stone sculptures under a nim tree. The name of Aphüi is applied to a group of villages, namely—Ismailpur-Aphüi, Ganj-Aphui, Râmpur-Aphüi, Baraiyapur-Aphüi, and Sunâwardeh-Aphüi. This use of its name shows that Aphui must once have been a place of some consequence. It is just 8 miles to the north-west of Karra.

29.—HATHGAON.

Fourteen miles to the north-west of Aphüi, and on the old high road leading from Allahabad and Karra to Kanauj, there is a very large old town situated on a high mound named *Hathgaon*, or *Hastigrâma*. In this part of the country everything is attributed to Jay Chand, the last Hindu Raja of Kanauj. Here Jay Chand is said to have dismounted from

[1] Reinaud: Fragments, Arabes et Persans, pp. 83—103.

his elephant, and, accordingly, the place was named *Hasti-grâma*, or "elephant town." The land belonging to it, together with 300 villages, was given to his family Brahman, named Parâsara Dikshit, to whom also he gave one of his daughters in marriage.

The town is a large one, of more than 600 houses and about 4,000 persons. It is situated partly on a mound, about 20 feet high, which is said to have been a fort of Raja Jay Chand. On the highest point stands a Masjid, known as the "Jay Chandi Masjid," which points to the belief of the people that it was originally the site of a Hindu temple—and such it undoubtedly was; for not only are all the remaining 24 pillars all Hindu, but the eastern entrance of the quadrangle is the actual doorway of the sanctum of the temple left untouched.

The pillars are, however, of much older date than Jay Chand, as shown by the shapes of the letters in the mason's marks, which I have inserted at the bottom of the accompanying plate.[1] But the pillars themselves are, perhaps, of different dates, as they are of three distinct styles. There were certainly two temples, as two different door-lintels are built into the roof of the Masjid. One of them has Vishnu sitting on Garud. The following list will show the difference of styles of the pillars :—

3 are complete square pillars.
6 are made up of pilasters of the same pattern.
4 are round pillars.
10 are octagonal and 16-sided pillars.
1 is missing.

Total 24 pillars of Masjid.

Both pillars and mason's marks seem to me to belong to the later Gupta period, say about 500 or 600 A.D. A loose inscription lying in a small Masjid close by is said to have been found when digging near the stone Masjid. It is of exactly the same stone as the Masjid itself, and I have no doubt that it originally belonged to it. It contains five rhyming lines,

[1] See Plate 29 at foot.

and bears the written date of *arba wa khamsin wa samân-miyat*, or A.H. 854. At that time the lower part of the Doâb belonged to Jaunpur, whose kings were distinguished by the most rampant intolerance towards their Hindu subjects. All the temples at Jaunpur itself were overthrown by them, and mosques built with their materials on the same sites. The temples of Kanauj, Itâwa and Benares were treated in the same way, and to this list I can now add Hathgaon.

The central figure over the entrance doorway of the Hathgaon Masjid has only recently been cut away, as the chisel marks are quite fresh and clean. I have called this doorway the entrance to the sanctum; but it is quite possible that it may have been the entrance of the *mandapa*, as some stone remains to the east are said to be the ruins of a flight of steps. The height of the doorway is 5 feet 2 inches, and the depth of the architrave 1 foot 3 inches. A plan of the mosque, with the Hindu doorway of its courtyard, is given in the accompanying Plate, No. 29.

30.—HANSWA.

Hanswa, or Haswa of the maps, is a large old town which gives its name to Fatehpur Hanswa. It is said to have 2,000 houses, or about 10,000 inhabitants. Like all old places in India, Hanswa has its legend. Its original name was Champâvati; but when the three brothers Hansadhwaja, Moradhwaja and Sankhadhwaja settled here, Hansadhwaja changed the name of the place to *Hansapura*. At the same time Moradhwaja founded *Morâwan*, 4 miles to the east, and Sankhadhwaja founded *Sankhâwan*, 2 miles to the east of Mohâwan. These places still exist, but the occurrence of all the three brothers' names together is very curious. I have come across the first two in several parts of Northern India, and the third Sankhadhwaja is usually confounded with Sakaditya, the king of the Sakas, and the antagonist of Vikramâditya. But he is also said to be a Raghubansi, who captured Dilli (Delhi) from Nilâghpati. He then warred with Vikra-

mâditya of Ujain for five years, when he was killed, and Delhi fell into the hands of the conqueror, and was deserted for 792 years, or until 792 B.C.—57=735 A.D. The story of the three brothers is said to be in the Mahâbhârat, but I have not been able to find it.

Lohitâswa was the minister of Raja Hansadhwaja, and he quarrelled with the Raja's son named Sudhanwa or Surat. The minister told the Raja that the prince was a bad character, and that he was in the habit of remaining out at night. Sudhanwa took an oath the accusation was false; but the minister persisted in the truth of his statement, and suggested that the prince should be subjected to the ordeal of boiling oil. A *karai* [a large iron vessel for preparing sweetmeats] was, accordingly, filled with oil and heated, and into this Sudhanwa stepped without receiving any harm. The minister then asserted that the oil was not sufficiently hot, on which the Raja ordered a Bel fruit to be thrown into the oil. As soon as the fruit became covered with oil it burst with great violence, and one of the pieces struck the wicked minister on the forehead, and killed him on the spot.

Hanswa is reckoned to be 14 kos from *Kora*, and 15 kos from Kaṛra. I found the distance from Kaṛra by the old road to be 38 miles, and from Aphüi exactly 30 miles. As Fatehpur is a comparatively modern place, the old town of Hanswa would appear to correspond with the station called Brahmashk (or Barhamshal) by Abu Rihân. This name seems almost hopelessly corrupt, but, by rejecting the initial *Bar* or *Bra*, the latter portion, *hamshal* or *hamashk*, may possibly be an altered reading of Hanswa.

31.—ASNI.

I was induced to visit Asni in the hope that it might turn out to be the old Buddhist site described by Hwen Thsang under the name of *O-yu-to*, which M. Julien has rendered by *Ayodhya*. But the site was certainly to the south of the Ganges, while Ayodhya is fully described by Hwen Thsang

under the name of *Pi-so-kia,* or Visâkha, as I have shown in another place.[1]

I was disappointed, however, in not finding any Buddhist remains at Asni. But the town is undoubtedly old, as it is a place of pilgrimage, the chief shrine being that of *Aswini Kumâra,* which gives its name to the place, and which has been gradually shortened to Asni. It was here that Jay Chand deposited his treasures before his last fight with Mahmud, and its capture rewarded the victor with "much more precious spoil of all kinds."[2] In the temple there are two small brass figures of the *Maruts,* which were presented by the late Isari Prasâd Singh, Raja of Benares. The old fort is still standing on the bank of the river, with very large bricks in its lower walls. But the principal mass of ruins consists of a large mound, covered with broken bricks and pottery. The mound stands on the very brink of the Ganges, on a projecting promontory within the lands of Chak Pihâna. It is about 200 feet square. There are no traces of walls on the surface; but the bricks are old, as they are of comparatively large size, 12 by 8½ by 2 inches. The only point of any note is a small terrace or platform, dedicated to *Dâna-Bir,* or the demon Dâna. There is another Dâna-Bir at Eran in Mâlwa, but in neither case is anything known about the name, or the origin of the worship.

One of my informants stated that he had heard from his father that during his time, say 40 or 50 years ago, a sâheb came to Asni to dig up the "nine lakhs of treasure" which were said to have been deposited by Jay Chand. But *nolakh,* or "nine lakhs," is the well-known amount of all treasure deposits, and the people quote the couplet—

"Ek lâkh narâwe
No lâkh pâwe"

as referring to buried treasure, where its true meaning refers to agricultural digging, by which one lakh of expenditure will be repaid ninefold.

The people of Asni also have a strange story about Akbar. They say that, when Sher Shah defeated Humâyun, the latter

[1] Ancient Geography of India, pp. 401—403.
[2] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, Vol. II, 223, quoting the Tâj-ul Maasir.

fled to the west, leaving a Begam named Choli in Delhi, who was captured by the conqueror. Shortly afterwards Sher Shah being pleased with some verses of a bard named Narhar, told him to ask a boon. The bard, accordingly, asked that Choli Begam might be given to him, which the king granted. Narhar carried off Choli to Bândhugarh in Rewa, where, soon after, she gave birth to Akbar. When twelve years had passed, the boy Akbar asked Birbhân, the Bâghel Raja of Rewa, to let him have some soldiers, so that he might go up to Delhi and recover his kingdom from Sher Shâh. The Raja gave the troops, and Akbar advanced against Delhi, while Humâyun returned from Ghazni. Sher Shâh was then dead and Islâm Shâh was defeated by Akbar, who thus recovered the kingdom of his father.

This story has found general acceptance amongst the people, in spite of the explicit statement of the Muhammadan historians that Sher Shah treated Humâyun's queen in the most chivalrous manner. Thus Abbâs Khan, the author of the Târikh-i-Sher Shâhi, says—[1]

"Masnad Ali Haibat Khân told me, Abbâs Khân, the author of this book, that he was at Sher Khan's side, when the emperor Humâyun's queen, with other noble ladies and a crowd of women, came out from behind the *parda*. As soon as Sher Khan's eye fell upon them, he alighted off his horse, and showed them every respect, and consoled them."

The popular story, however, is likely to survive, as it has been related in a *Kabît* by *Ajbes*, the Bhât of the Raja of Rewa. Some, indeed, say that the verse finds favour owing to the wretched pun on the name of Akbar, to whom Raja Birbhân of Rewa is said to have been an *Akhe-bar*, or *Akshaya-bar*, "the imperishable banian tree," which is the name of the famous tree of Prayâg. These are the verses:—

"Dilli kê jitêk sardâr, Mansabdâr,
Râja, Rao, Umrao, Sahe ko nipât bhao,
Begam bichâri bahi kitahu na pâi thâh,

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, Vol. IV, 375.

Bândhogarh, gâro gûr tâko pachh pât bhao,
Sher Shâh salil praleye ko baro *Ajbes*.
Bûrat Humâyun kê mahâ hi, utpât bhao,
Balhîn bâlak, *Akabar* bachâi me ko,
Birbhân bhupati, *Akhebar* ko pât bhao."

"In Delhi all the Sardârs and the Mansabdârs,
The Rajas, the Raos, and the Umraos, were distracted;
The Begam helpless found no place of refuge,
Till the stronghold of Bândhogarh became her protector.
Then Sher Shâh's power prevailed, says Ajbes.
Though Humâyun escaped drowning, he was in great distress,
And the boy *Akbar* was saved solely
Through Birbhân becoming his *Akhe-bar*.

32.—MAKANPUR.

The holy shrine of Shâh Madâr has made the village of Makanpur famous throughout India. The shrine is situated on the bank of the Isan river, 40 miles to the west-north-west of Cawnpore, 10 miles to the south-south-west of Kanauj, and about 2½ miles from the railway station of Araul. Halfway between Araul and Makanpur there is an old Hindu village named Harpura, which possesses so many fragments of sculpture that I am led to suspect that Makanpur itself may be an old site, which was appropriated by the saint after the usual Muhammadan fashion.

Abdul Kâder Badauni relates that he "went on a pilgrimage to Makanpur, a dependency of Kanauj, where is the tomb of the holy Shekh Badi-ul-Hakk-wa-ud-din Shâh Madâr (may God sanctify his tomb."[1] The saint was a native of Halab, or Aleppo. He came to Makanpur in the Hijra year 818, or A.D. 1415, during the reign of Ibrâhim Shah Sharki of Jaunpur. His fame soon spread abroad, as it was rumoured that he took little or no food, and that he never changed his clothes, which always remained clean. But his fame still more

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, Vol. V, 499.

rapidly increased when it was said that he could live for a long time without breathing. Indeed, it is confidently affirmed that on one occasion he remained for 12 years without drawing a single breath. Hence his well-known name of *Dam*-Madâr, or "Breath-Madâr." This saint is equally popular with Hindus and Muhammadans. The pâlki-bearers in the North-West Provinces are very fond of shouting out his name as they pass through jungly places, as a sort of call for help. It seems probable that Madâr may have resided for a short time in other places; as I remember seeing one shrine named after him on the top of the hill to the north of Chamba, in the Panjâb, and another at Bhânder, to the north of Jhânsi. I think also that there is a third shrine in the hills between Masuri and Naini Tâl. The saint is said to have been born in A.H. 442. He came to India in A.H. 818, and died in 838, at the ripe age of 396 years according to the popular belief.

The tomb of the saint at Makanpur is a plain building, 31½ feet square, with a low-domed roof, the whole covered with numerous coats of white-wash. It stands in a court-yard about 90 feet square, called *haram*, or "the forbidden," within which no woman is allowed to enter, no lamps are lighted, no hymns are chaunted, and no food is cooked. Altogether there are seven distinct courts, called the seven Darbârs, each of which has a separate name. These are—

1. Roza Mubârak.	4. Pâkar Khâna.
2. Haram Darbâr.	5. Dhamâl khâna.
3. Sânkar Darbâr.	6. Nakâr Khâna.

7. Masjid Alamgir.

1. The Roza Mubârak Darbâr is the court-yard, about 90 feet square, which surrounds the tomb itself.
2. The Haram Darbâr is an outer enclosure, into which no woman is allowed to enter, as noted above.
3. The Sânkar Darbâr, or "Chain Darbâr," is so named from a chain on its door.

4. The Pâkar Darbâr is named after a Pâkar fig-tree which stands in it.
5. The Dhamâl Khâna is the court where the *Malangs*, or mad Fakirs, are allowed to play and sing songs (*Dhamal*).
6. The Nakâr Khâna contains the Nâkâras, or great metal drums, as well as the degs, or gigantic metal cooking pots.
7. The Masjid Alamgir requires no explanation.

There are seven wells in these seven Darbârs.

In the *nâkâr-khâna*, besides the great nakâra, or metal drum, there are three huge cooking vessels of copper and iron which the custodians of the shrine profess to fill with cooked food on the anniversary of the saint's death. A mela is then held at the tomb, which lasts for sixteen days. The great copper vessel is 6 feet 7 inches in height, and the same in diameter, with a neck 1 foot 10 inches in height, and is said to hold 80 maunds, or about 57 cwt. of rice. The great iron vessel is 8 feet 2 inches in diameter, but only 6 feet in height, and is said to hold 102 maunds of rice, or about 71 cwts. The third vessel is broken, and only the upper half now remains. It is 6 feet 2 inches in diameter, and is said to hold only 20 maunds of rice, or about 14 cwts.

These great vessels are filled at the expense of pious pilgrims, who visit the shrine on the anniversary of the saint's death. But it is generally believed that the custodians, who receive a donation for the full amount of 200 maunds, never really fill the vessels, but make up all the lower part with straw and bhûsa (chopped straw). When the degs are reported to be filled, the *malangs*, or mad Fakirs, rush at the smoking vessels, and scramble for the sugared rice. In the struggle some generally fall into the scalding mess, to the great delight of the spectators. The two larger vessels are 5½ feet in diameter across the mouth.

The erection of the tomb is ascribed to Ibrâhim Shâh Sharki of Jaunpur, who died in A.H. 844. There is no inscription on the tomb. There are two gateways with inscriptions; but they are of later date. One of these, called the

Chor-ka-darwâza, dates from the year A.H. 873, or A.D. 1468, as noted in the inscription

شیخ المشایخ محقق شرع والدین سید بدیع الدین
قطب المدار قدس الله سره العزیز بنای این عمارت رنگین
بتاریخ بستم ماه جمادی الاول از هجرت هشتصد و هفتاد و سه
بعد کرم الله تعالی

"The Shekh of Shekhs, the faithful observer of the law, Sayid Badi-ud-din Kutb-ul Madâr,—

"This coloured building was erected on the 20th day of Jamâdi the first, in the year 873."

ماه جمادی الاخر سنه تسع و تسعین و ثما ثمانیه
و روز چهارشنبه محمد نظام مداری سوداگر +

The second gate, called Saudâgar Darwâza, or the "Merchant's Gate," bears the following inscription :—

"In the month of Jamâdi the second, in the year 899, on Wednesday, Muhammad Nizâm Madâri, the merchant."

The people speak with pride of a visit paid to the shrine of Madâr by the emperor Aurangzeb. The exact date is not known, although he built the Masjid, which still exists. When he visited the tomb, the emperor is said to have crawled up to the shrine on his elbows and knees, both being well covered with cotton. On reaching the tomb he repeated the following verse, which is believed to have been composed by himself :—

بیا که اوج کمالات را ظهور اینجاست + بیا که مرجع هر قیصر قُصور اینجاست
جناب اقدس شاهنشاه مدار جهانست + بپای دیده بیا و به بین که نور اینجاست

"Approach! for here is the summit of perfection!
Approach! for here is a refuge for the guilt of kings!
The pure lord, the king of kings, the centre of the universe, with reverence[1] approach, for here is the light divine."

What was this cold-blooded monarch thinking of when he spoke of the guilt of kings? Did his conscience prick him for

[1] Literally "with feet and eyes."

the murder of his brothers, the haughty Dârâ, the gentle Shujâ, and the rash Murâd? Did he remember his broken promise to his gallant nephew Sulimân Shikoh? Or did he regret his atrocious treatment of his eldest son, the princely Muhammad? Perhaps he remembered all; but the remembrance did not trouble him. He thought only of the world around him, and in the eyes of the bigoted Muhammadans of the shrine, the crawling monarch was a true follower of the Prophet.

On this occasion the emperor was accompanied by two supple Hindus, who sought to gain his favour by their cringing complaisance. The following *kabit*, which was composed by Sheopat Pandit, is still much admired :—

Nahin Salon, Kaṛe, Hilse,
Nahin jât Baihâr, najât Bukhâre,
Ajmer, Muner, ko kon gane,
Ali aur hen Pîr aneck barâre.
Jot akhandit,
Mangal mandit,
Sheo Pandit
Kavi-râj pukâre,
Jâpar rîjhat hen kartâr,
So ânat düâr,
Madâr tihâre.

"Who goes to Salon, or to Kaṛra, or Hilsa,
Who goes to Bihâr or Bukhâra?
Who cares for Ajmer, or Muner,
When a much greater saint is here?
A brilliant light, and a holy delight,
So says Shiva Pandit the poet—
For he whom the maker chooses to favour,
Comes to the shrine of Madâr."

The names of places mentioned in this kabît, require a few notes to make the allusions intelligible. Each place is famous for its possession of a shrine of a celebrated Muhammadan saint, thus—

At Salon is the tomb of Pir Muhammad.
At Kaṛra is the tomb of Sheik Kaṛrak.

At Hilsa is the tomb of Jaman Shâh Madâri.
At Bihâr is the tomb of Shâh Makhdûm.
At Ajmer is the tomb of Muin-ud-din Chishti.
At Muner is the tomb of Sharaf-ud-din Muneri.

The following is the kabît of Ghâsi Râm—

1.—Bare, bare, Sardâr thâre, rahat Darbâr,
Chandan jare Kewâr tâhi, dekh, dekh, lalken.
2.—Andharan kon ânkh det, Korim ko kâyâ det,
Putr det bânjhan kon, nimâjat hen, khalken.
3.—Châdaren jhaljhalât, kumkumâ jhamjhamât,
Chandar-suraj hu lajât, dekhathi jhalken.
4.—Bahisht se saras, daras, Darbâr kahen kavi,
Ghâsi Râm Mundiye na palken.

"Many mighty chiefs are waiting,
Outside the Darbâr Court peeping,
Through the jewelled sandal grating—
Happy one and all.

Here the blind their sight recover,
Here the leper's skin is cleansed,
Here the barren wife conceiveth,
Happy one and all.

Brilliant are the broidered hangings,
Bright the balls with dazzling colours,
Which the sun and moon beholding,
Straightway feel ashamed.

The Darbâr by far eclipses,
All that Paradise can show;
So says Ghâzi Râm, the poet,
Who would ever gaze!"

33.—MATHURA.

Towards the end of March I paid a visit to Mathura to see if any fresh discoveries had been made during the past two or three years, and to examine the collection of sculptures and antiquities which have been brought together in the Mathura Museum.

Outside the Museum, in the courtyard, I found 27 bases of Indo-Scythian pillars, and inside three more, making in all 30

pillar bases still lying at Mathura. As there are about a dozen of these bases in the Indian Museum in Calcutta, and a few still lying about at Agra and Allahabad, there must be about 50 bases, all of the same size, and of the same style, which had once belonged to the great monastery of the Indo-Scythian king, Huvishka at Mathura. I have already published most of the inscriptions on these bases,[1] to which I can now add the following:—

1.—Dânam Bhiksho Sangha Devasya Vanadata vâsikasya.

"Gift of the mendicant Sangha Deva * *?"

2.—Sangham dânâ Bhikshunam Bhadrasya Bhadrayasodara cha.

"Gift to the Sangha of the mendicants Bhadra and Bhadrayasas."

3.—* * Sangha Deva, Sangha Dharmapriya, Sangha Mitra Dharmapriya.

4.—(A circular inscription)—

* * Sa * yi Vihâra Dharma Devasya bha * * dakshina Mitrasya Mahâsu * * * * * pujaya bhavatu.

I give this last inscription in spite of its mutilated state because the opening word may assist hereafter in restoring the name of one of the Mathura monasteries.

On the pedestal of a broken figure of Buddha I read the following:—

* * varshe mâse 2 divase 6.

"In the * year, the 2nd month, the 6th day."

On the pedestal of a standing statue, with a figure kneeling at its feet, there is a long inscription of three lines, which opens as follows:—

Mahârâjasya Devaputrasya Huveshkaya
Samvatsara 51, Hemanta Mâsa 1, diva

"During the reign of the great king, the son of Heaven, HUVESHKA, in the year 51, in the 1st month of the winter season (*Hemanta*)."

[1] See Archæological Survey, Vol. III, Plates 14 and 15.

A third inscription of the Mahârâja Devaputra Huveshka is dated in an abbreviated form, thus :—

Sam. 33, Gr. 1, Di. 8,

which stands for "Samvatsara 33, Grishma 1, Divase 8," or—

> "In the year 33, in the 1st month of the hot season (*Grishma*) on the 8th day."

During one of my searches amongst the heaps of fragments lying about, my notice was attracted to a half life-size figure, which, with the aid of some bricks and mud, formed one side of a trough for watering cattle. On removing the bricks and mud, and washing the stone I found, to my surprise and delight, that the figure was that of Herakles strangling the Nemæan lion. As this group could not have been made for the use of the Hindus, whether Brahmans or Buddhists, I conclude with very great probability that it must have been sculptured by some foreign artist for the use of the Greeks resident in Mathura. I have already noticed in my account of the sculptured balusters of the Bharhut gateways[1] that the superior excellence of the execution, coupled with the presence of an Arian letter on each of the balusters of the gateway, pointed to the employment of some foreign artists on this work. Now, here at Mathura I have found another proof of the employment of a foreign artist, who in this particular instance must have professed the Greek religion, as the group of Herakles strangling the Nemæan lion appears to be a direct copy of some Greek original.

I have given two views of this group from the side and from the front.[2] The head of Herakles is unfortunately wanting; but the pose and muscular development of the body are infinitely superior to any purely Indian sculpture that I have seen. Herakles has his left arm wound about the lion's neck, while with his right he is raising the club, which appears behind his back, to strike a blow. The raised arm is also gone. The lion is rather a weak animal. The group is not

[1] See my stûpa of Bharhut, Plate VIII.

[2] See Plate XXX. Both v ws are copied from photographs.

cut in the round, but is an *alto-relievo* with a rough back, and has apparently formed one side of an altar. The stone came from the well-known quarries of Rupbâs near Fatehpur Sikri, and is a good specimen of the light-coloured fine-grained sandstone, which is now so much used for monuments.

In another plate I have given a collection of small Buddhist railway pillars, which are now deposited in the Mathura Museum.[1] At Allahabad, in the Alfred Park, there are about a dozen more of these small pillars. They are about 3 feet in height, some a little more or less, with a face breadth of 6 to 7 inches, and a thickness of 3½ to 5 inches. In December 1860, I saw several of these very pillars standing *in situ*, in a line from north to south, in the excavation then being made for the Collector's kacheri. There are three socket-holes on each side for the reception of three rail bars. The figures shown in the plate are all females, similar to those on the larger pillars which I have already published. The pillar on the right, with the sloping top, must have formed part of the side railing of a staircase. Between these pillars there is one very small one, which cannot have been more than 2 feet in height. It is of a very white sandstone.

As all these pillars are carved on the back, they must have belonged to an open railing. Otherwise, it might be supposed from their small size that they had formed the facing of a low platform.

During my visit to Mathura I examined the old fort on the bank of the Jumna river with some care, with the view of reconciling Hwen Thsang's account with the actual plan and position of the city.

According to the belief of the people, the ancient city of Mathura surrounded the great temple of Kesava Rai, which stood in the middle of what is now the Kattra, just one mile to the west of the fort. The mounds of ruins extend from the Ambarikha Tila, half a mile to the north-north-east of the Kattra, to the Kankâli Tila, three-quarters of a mile to the south of the Kattra, or altogether 1¼ mile in length from

[1] See Plate XXXI, which is copied from a photograph.

north to south. To the west of the Kattra and the Kankâli mound, about one mile distant, are the mounds of Chaurâsi and Chaubâra, which have been described in a former report.[1]

The fort stands about 100 feet above the river, just one mile distant from the Kattra. In going from the Kattra, or old city, to the fort, the road passes down a hollow between the high ground of Hansganj and the fort itself. Also, on leaving the fort to the south, the road passes along a deep hollow under Sital-ghati.

I take these high grounds to be the mountains, and the hollows between them to be the valleys of Hwen Thsang. If, then, we accept the Kattra as the site of the ancient city, the Sanghârâma, or monastery of Upagupta, which was situated on a mountain, one mile to the east, will be exactly represented by the present fort. The great Ambarikha mound, three-quarters of a mile to the north-west of the fort, will, therefore, represent the mountain (to the north of the monastery), in which there was a cave cut in the rock (? built of stone), 20 feet high, and 30 feet long, which was filled with spikes of bambu, deposited by the converts of Upagupta.

The only other place described by Hwen Thsang is a dry tank, into which the pious monkey fell in a fit of enthusiastic joy, when his offering of honey had been accepted by Buddha. This is described as being 4 miles to the south-east of the Upagupta cave. This place I would identify with the tank near the mound of the Collector's kacheri, which is just 3½ miles to the south-south-east of the Ambarikha Tila, or about 4 miles, if the road past the fort be taken. On the tank mound there formerly stood a Masjid in the middle of the village of Jalalpur. In this mound were discovered all the bases of the Indo-Scythian pillars of the time of Huvishka besides numerous figures of Buddha. The Kankâli mound, 2 miles to the north-east, was the site of a Jaina establishment, where I dug up many Jaina figures, one of which, by its inscription, declared itself to be a statue of Varddhamâna, or Mahavira, the last of the twenty-four Jaina pontiffs. The

[1] See Archæological Survey, Vol. III, Plate I, for Map of Mathura.

Chaubâra mounds were the site of another Buddhist monastery, with stûpas; while the Chaurâsi mounds were the seat of another Jaina establishment, which is still maintained in one flourishing and much frequented temple of Jambu Swâmi, or Pârasnath. Here an annual fair is held for six days, beginning on the 7th day of the waning moon of Kârtikâ.

34.—SAURAS OR SAVARAS.

During three successive tours in Bundelkhand, Mâlwa and Gwâlior, I made continuous enquiries about all the different castes and races of people whom I saw daily. On going from Allahabad to the south-west I found the great mass of the non-Aryan population to be Kols, and more especially so in the northern half of the route in the districts of Ajaygarh, Kâlinjar, Nâgod, and Mahiyar. In the southern portion, towards Jabalpur, they give place to Gonds. On turning to the westward I first came across some *Sauras* in the district of Damoh, and from thence westward to Sâgar and Bhilsa, I found them almost every day. Near Bhilsa the Bhîls began to appear. On turning up northwards from Sâgar through Eran and Dhâmoni, towards Lalitpur and Urcha, the *Sauras* became still more numerous, more especially in the hilly tracts to the south of Lalitpur. From thence I traced them, through Chânderi, Isâgarh, and Narwar, to Gwâlior, beyond which they disappeared altogether to the north along with the hills. But to the west of Gwâlior and Narwar, in the hilly country of Pahârgarh and Sheopur, up to the banks of the Chambal, they are found in even greater numbers as wood-cutters, under the name of *Saharias*. They supply all the iron furnaces of Gwalior and Narwar with charcoal, and the large city of Gwâlior with timber and firewood.

To the west of Chânderi the *Sauras* were traced by my zealous assistant, Mr. J. D. Beglar, through Sironj and Guna, to Mukandra and the banks of the Newa river, an eastern affluent of the Chambal, where they were found mixed with Bhîls.

The limits of the tract inhabited by these western *Sauras* may be defined with some certainty as follows:—

On the east, from Sabalgarh and Pahârgarh on the Chambal, *viâ* Gwâlior and Jhânsi, to Urcha on the Betwa, and thence *viâ* Damoh to Singhorgarh, where the Gonds are met with, about 225 miles.

On the *south*, from Singhorgarh, following the line of hills which forms the northern boundary of the Narbada valley, to Bhilsa, Bhupâl, and Ashta, where the Bhîls are met with, about 200 miles.

On the west, from Ashta, northward, *viâ* Mukandra, to near Kota on the Chambal, where the Bhîls are again met with, about 160 miles.

On the *north*, from the neighbourhood of Kota following the Chambal river to the north-east to Sabalgarh and Pahârgarh, about 200 miles.

Within the limits thus specified the extent of the country occupied by the *Sauras* or *Savaras* is about 40,000 square miles. The *Sauras*, however, form but a small part of the population, excepting in the hilly and jungly tracts of Lalitpur and Sironj in the south, and Sheopur and Sabalgarh in the north, where they are about one-sixth of the whole; while in the less hilly tracts they form not more than one-twelfth. In the open plains not a single *Saura* house was ever met with.

The origin of the name of *Savara* must be sought for outside the language of the Aryas. In Sanskrit *Savara* simply means a "corpse." From Herodotus, however, we learn that the Scythian word for an "axe" was *Sagaris;* and as *g* and *v* are interchangeable letters, *Savar* is the same word as *Sagar.* It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to infer that the tribes, who were so called, took their name from their habit of carrying axes. Now, it is one of the striking peculiarities of the Savaras that they are rarely seen without an axe in their hands. This peculiarity has been frequently noticed by all who have seen them.

The plan that I adopted to obtain an approximate estimate of the numbers of the *Saura* population was very simple,

but I think not inefficient. Indeed, I had already found that in the hill districts for more than 100 miles around Simla the result obtained by the same plan gave a very close approximation to the actual census. At every daily march of 10 or 12 miles I generally succeeded in getting some *Sauras* to visit my camp, from whom I obtained various information regarding their own village, and all the neighbouring villages within 4 or 5 miles. My enquiries thus covered a narrow strip of country about 10 miles in breadth, but extending along the whole length of my tour. The chief points which I enquired for were the total number of houses in each village, the number of houses occupied by *Sauras,* the number of persons in each family, and their occupation or means of livelihood. I succeeded also in obtaining the names of a large number of both men and women, as well as their heights. As my enquiries were not confined to one district, but extended over nearly the whole area occupied by the *Sauras,* I believe my results give a very good approximation towards the actual numbers and heights of the *Saura* population. Fortunately also the census of the Lalitpur district gave me the means of testing the accuracy of my results. Thus, in 1872 I found in three sub-divisions of the Lalitpur district 70 villages with 502 houses of *Sauras*, or 7·14 houses of *Sauras* in each village. Allowing five persons per house, the number of *Sauras* in the villages on my route would have been 2,510, or rather less than one-fourth of the total number of *Sauras* in the whole district of Lalitpur according to the census. My enquiries covered only a small strip of country, 16 miles in length by 10 miles in breadth, or an average of 100 square miles. This is just one-twelfth of the whole area of the district of Lalitpur. But, as more than one-half of the district is open, plain country, where there are no *Sauras*, the portion traversed may be taken as about one-fifth of the actual area inhabited by *Sauras*. Their number, according to this estimate, will be, from four to five times 2,510, or from 10,000 to 12,000 persons.

Another test which I applied was to ascertain the number of villages in a square mile, and the average number of

Saura houses in a village. My enquiries over the whole country traversed gave the following results :—

	Villages.	Saura houses.	Per village.	Persons.
Sagar	50	431	8·62 houses.	2,155
Bhilsa	80	640	8·00 "	3,200
Lalitpur	70	502	7·14 "	2,510
Chanderi	65	413	6·35 "	2,065
Ranod	100	902	9·02 "	4,510.
Gwâlior	21	244	11·62 "	1,220
TOTAL	386	3,132	50·75 "	15,660

These figures give an average of 8·44 *Saura* houses in each village, or, if we omit Gwalior on account of the small number of villages noted, the average of *Saura* houses per village will be almost exactly eight. Now, the actual number of villages in the seven sub-divisions of the Lalitpur district is 646 according to the census; and, as rather more than half of these are in the open plains, the actual number of *Saura* houses, at eight per village, will not be more than 300 × 8 = 2,400, which would give a total *Saura* population of about 12,000 as before. According to the census "the *Sahariyas*, who are found scattered all over the district, and specially in the thickly wooded tracts," are in "number upwards of 10,000."[1]

Where the hills are scattered and numerous, but not continuous ranges, as in the Urcha (*Uccha*) district, the number of *Saura* inhabitants becomes less and less, until they altogether disappear in the open plains. Thus, the statistics of Urcha, compared with those of the neighbouring district of Lalitpur, give the following results :—

	Square miles.	Population.	Sauras.	
Urcha	2,160	200,000	2,778	or $\frac{1}{72}$
Lalitpur	1,947	212,628	10,222	or $\frac{1}{20}$

But the greater part of the Urcha territory is open plain, and it is only in the southern portion that any *Sauras* or *Sahariyas*, as they are called there, are to be found. The returns give 1,456 males and 1,322 females, or a total of 2,778 persons.

[1] Gazetteer of Bundelkhand, p. 331.

Following the same plan in all the districts of the *Saura* area through which I travelled, I found that the whole number of these western *Sauras* is not less than 120,000, as follows :—

	Square miles.	Sauras.	Per square mile.
1. Panna and Bijâwar	2,000	8,000	4
2. Sâgar and Damoh	3,500	14,500	4
3. Bhilsa and Bhupâl	4,500	18,000	4
4. Lalitpur	1,950	11,000	6
5. Chânderi	480	3,840	8
6. Ranod and Narwar . . .	4,000	32,000	8
7. Gwâlior, Sheopur, Sabalgarh . .	2,000	16,000	8
8. Sironj and Râghugarh . . .	1,680	10,000	6
9. Jhânsi	1,000	2,500	2½
10. Urcha	2,160	2,778	1¼
11. Guna to Mukandra . . .	1,730	3,012	1½
TOTAL . .	25,000	121,630	......

I believe that this rather rough estimate is a close approximation to the truth. In the wild country of Sabalgarh and Sheopur to the west of Gwâlior and Narwar, the Saharia wood-cutters are said to be very numerous. It is just possible that the *Saura* population of Ranod, Narwar and Gwâlior may be rather less than the numbers which I have given. But, as my estimate is founded on the actual numbers found in 121 villages, it cannot be very far wrong. Under any circumstances I feel rather confident that the actual number of the western *Sauras* cannot be under 100,000, but I should not be surprised to find that they amounted to Rs. 1,50,000.

On the south-west, towards Hushangabad and Nimâr, the *Sauras* touch the Kûrkûs, a cognate race who still preserve their own language—I call them a cognate race because the Kûrkû dialect has numerous words the same as those of the eastern *Sauras*, and of the other Kolian tribes in their vicinity, the Juângs, the Hos, the Mûndâris, and the Santâls. At the present day the western *Sauras* speak the same Hindi dialects as the other people amongst whom they live. Some few words still survive amongst them, such as *bel* the sun, *jung* the moon, and *jeo* fire; but none of them that I have met with know anything of their tribe having once possessed a language or dialect peculiar to themselves.

In person the western Saura is below the middle height, and the women are decidedly short, as I found the average height of 123 men to be 5 feet 4½ inches, and of 57 women only 5 feet. Amongst the men there was one of 6 feet, 1 of 5 feet 10 inches, and 3 of 5 feet 9 inches; while there was only one very short man of 4 feet 11 inches. Amongst the women there was one of 5 feet 7 inches, and 1 of 5 feet 5 inches, the shortest being one of 4 feet 2 inches, and one of 4 feet 1 inch. Their features are generally of the Tartar type, the eyes being slightly oblique, the nose broad and flat, and the lips rather fat and projecting. Both beard and moustaches are slight. Their figures are generally spare and short, and their colour very dark, but not black. They can, however, endure great fatigue, and are active and vigorous foresters. Their lean, short figures are no doubt chiefly due to their poor food and manner of life. Near Rahatgarh, between Sâgar and Bhilsa, I found two *Saura* lambardâr brothers, who were cultivating land on their own account. They were above the middle height with good moustaches, but they still preserved the round head and the slightly oblique eyes common to their race. I noticed, also, a great improvement in the build and appearance of the *Sauras* of Ranod and Narwar over those of Lalitpur and Sâgar. They were much stouter and stronger, and rather fairer, with often good moustaches, and eyes only slightly oblique. The children, also, were in good condition. Both men and women also were better clad, and their houses were of a better description than in the southern districts. Altogether, the northern *Sauras* were more comfortable and more numerous than their brethren in the south. All the women are tattooed.

It seems probable that they were formerly much more numerous in the southern districts, as I was informed that previous to Samvat 1925, or A.D. 1868, there was a hamlet outside the city of Chânderi, named *Sariya-tola*, which contained 25 houses of *Sauras*. In Lalitpur, also, there is a mahalla of the town named Sariânapura, which was once inhabited solely by *Sarias* or *Sauras*, of whom only a few now remain.

Small numbers of the clan still exist in the hills to the south of Shâhâbâd and Bihâr, where they are known under the name of *Suïrs.* A few also are to be found in the Allahabad district, where they form a small colony of cultivators, under the name of *Suirai.* They appear again in the Ghâzipur district to the north of the Ganges, from the banks of the Gumti to the Ghâghra river. Mr. Oldham calls them "Seoris," and says that they are found from Bhitari on the west to the junction of the Ghâghra on the east. These *Seoris* are the "*Swiris*" of Mr. Garrick. There is another small body of apparently the same clan who are living to the north of the Ganges in Eastern Oudh, under the name of *Sarhia.* They are said to be "an inferior but good class, who take to various trades, as sawyers, boatmen, syces."[1]

Names of Western Sauras.

Men's names.			Women's names.	
Amân.	Garhu.	Nandu.	Adaro.	Mârajiya.
Arjan.	Gati.	Nanho.	Amâno.	Mârâni.
Arkûa.	Ghamir.	Nanhokumu.		Miniya.
Asao.	Golida.	Nanri.	Bakto.	Moniya.
	Gatti.	Nawal, 3.	Bariya.	
Bâdal.	Gole.	Nana Sah.	Bâta.	Nanhi, 2.
Bado.	Gutu.		Buri.	Nanhiya, 2.
Baggâ.	Gurari.	Pajâne.		Natkâri.
Bahoniya.	Gute.	Peme.	Chatara.	Noni.
Bâju.		Phaili.		
Bâlaki.	Halla.	Phuluâ.	Danu.	Pâcho.
Balûa.	Hirao.	Pirku.	Dhomâ.	Pânchi.
Bâri, 2.		Puno, 2.	Dhuiniyan.	Phunanu.
Basûi.	Jharadwa.	Punu, 2.	Dujaniya.	Phundaniya.
Basuri.	Jhuga.			
Bera.	Jhugra.	Ragârhe.	Gumiya.	Râmbâi.
Bhadai.				Râmbeya.

[1] E Reade's List of Inferior Castes in the North-West Provinces, p. 33.

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Names of Western Sauras—continued.

Men's names.			Women's names.	
Bhisâ.	Kallu.	Sabdu.	Hariya.	Rukhiya.
Bhunde.	Kamodha, 4.	Sonê.	Hiriya.	
Bisnâ.	Kharga.	Suke.		Sawai.
Bopâl.	Kârhe, 3.		Jâhai.	Sona.
Bura.	Karora.	Takku.	Jarao.	Sulju.
Buke.	Khemola.	Tipu.	Jhalkaniya.	
	Khita.	Tobâr.	Jhâlko.	Ujyâre.
Chatura.	Kumna.		Jhalo.	Umano.
Chen.		87 names.	Jhoki.	
Chene.	Lahri.	10 duplicates.	Junâri.	49 names.
Chikku.	Lalle.	97		3 duplicates.
	Lokai.		Kaliya.	52
Dabaliya.	Loto.		Kâmlo.	
Dânju.			Kamoni.	
Darao.	Madâ.		Karai, 2.	
Dâmar.	Mangola.		Karaiya.	
Dulâra.	Manna.		Kurnaniya.	
	Mârjan.			
Galwal.	Matoli.		Lariya.	
Gandi.	Metwa.		Lâlli.	
Gjana.	Mune, 3.			

In the above list I observe that a large proportion of the names end in *o* and *u*. Amongst the men there are 18 out of 97, and amongst the women 12 out of 52, or, taken together, 30 out of 149, or just one-fifth. Unfortunately I have no means of comparing the names with those of the eastern *Sauras* of Ganjam and Vizagapatam, nor with those of the Munda and Larka Kols of Chutia Nâgpur. They differ widely from those of the Gonds.

The eastern *Sauras* are separated from their brethren by a broad tract of country extending from Allahabad to Jabalpur in one direction; and from the Betwa river to the Mahânadi

in the other direction. The northern portion of this tract is inhabited chiefly by Kols, and the southern portion by Gonds. From the Mahânadi they extend to the east in scattered groups through Sambhalpur to Ganjam, and south-eastward to the Kimidi districts of Vizagapatam. I came across a few of these eastern *Sauras* on the Upper Mahânadi; there being two houses of them at Râjim, and one house at Sirpur. But 30 miles to the eastward they are found in considerable numbers at Khalâri, where they are industrious cultivators, and a short distance to the east at *Suarmâr*, which derives its name from them, although the present chief of the place is a Gond. Still further eastward they form part of the mixed cultivating classes of Bora-Sâmbar, and Bastar, or Pâtna. To the north of the Mahânadi they are found in the two small states of Raigarh and Râjgarh.

Beyond Sambhalpur and Sonpur they are separated by the Khonds from Ganjam on the east, and from Kimidi of Vizagapatam on the south-east. According to Mr. Harper of the Topographical Survey, the *Sauras*, who use the *Saura* language, "extend but a small distance beyond the boundaries of Gunipur and Parla Kimidi." The other Kimidi *Sauras* generally use the Uriya language with strangers. Mr. Harper describes the men as generally well-made, short, wiry and active. Their houses are built of stone and cleanly kept, and their villages are regularly built, and often fenced with stone. The men are very expert with the battle-axe and the bow and arrow, which are called their peculiar weapons. They use a small drum, and a "one-stringed lute, which gives a pleasant jingling sound." The men are said to be very truthful. A similar account of them is given by Mr. Ball :—[1]

"In appearance the Savaras are small, but wiry; they are often very dark in colour, and sometimes quite black. Their hair is generally tied in a top-knot, and sometimes it is cut short over the forehead, two long locks being permitted to hang over the ears. A few individuals have frizzled shocks, with which no such arrangement is

[1] Jungle-life in India, by V. Ball, page 267. I believe that Mr. Ball is wrong in calling the Paharias of the Râjmahal hills Dravidians. The men of the Ramgarh hills call the Râjmahalis "Savaras." See Dalton, pp. 274, 264.

attempted. Most of the men have small square beards. The nose is generally broad, with wide nostrils. Of those races in Bengal with whose appearance I am familiar, they reminded me most strongly of the Bhûmij, who belong to the Manda family; but I could also perceive in them some points of resemblance to the Dravidian Pahârias of the Râjmahal Hills. They have not, however, the manly bearing and good physique of the latter."

Kimidi is divided into two small districts called Pedda Kimidi and Parla Kimidi, which belong partly to Ganjam and partly to Vizagapatam. The former tract is called Saura-dah, and has been reported on by Mr. T. J. Maltby. The latter has been described by Mr. D. F. Carmichael in his "Manual of Vizagapatam."

Mr. J. D. Beglar, who visited Ganjam early in 1875, says that the Sauras whom he met with were much inferior to the Khonds in strength and general physique. They were both short and thin. In the Ganjam district the young Saura women go with their breasts naked, excepting only a broad bead necklace, which half covers them. The Saura bridegroom, it is said, goes to the bride's house and gives an arrow to the father, which forms the essential part of the ceremony. After child-birth the mother remains impure for ten days, when she bathes, and both herself and the child then become pure. The Savaras bury their dead.

The Savaras of Vizagapatam "inhabit the hills and slopes behind Palkonda, and to the east of Gunapur." "In other parts of the district they do not appear in any numbers, but they crop out again in the neighbourhood of Bhadrâchalam on the Godâvari river, and are said to appear in the Kistna and Nellore districts under the name of Chansavandhee." The Malwa Sauras of Vizagapatam bury their dead.

None of the authorities to which I have access has given even a guess as to the numbers of these eastern Sauras; but from the great extent of country over which they are spread, including the two districts Saura-dah and Kimidi, where they form the mass of the population, and have, accordingly, preserved their own language, I am inclined to think that they cannot be less in number than 100,000 persons.

Towards the north the scattered sections of the eastern Sauras come in contact with the Juangs, the Hos, the Mandas and the Santâls, all of whom, judging from the affinities of their dialects with that of the Sauras, must be cognate races. In fact, the Mâla Pahâriyas still call the Râjmahalis by the name of Sauras.[1] In the following short vocabulary a number of Saura words of primary importance are brought together for comparison with the dialects of the Santâls, the Mundaris, and the Juangs in the east, and with that of the Kûrkus in the west. The words include the personal pronouns, the cardinal numbers, the different parts of the body, and a few other terms of common occurrence. The close agreement of the Savara vocabulary with all of these dialects is, I think, sufficient to show that the Sauras must originally have formed part of the same great family of Kols to which the others undoubtedly belonged. Indeed, there seems good reason to believe that the Savaras were formerly the dominant branch of the great Kolian family, and that their power lasted down to a comparatively late period, when they were pushed aside by other Kolian tribes in the north and east, and by Gonds in the south. In the Sâgar district I was informed that the Sauras had formerly fought with the Gonds, and that the latter had conquered them by treacherously making them drunk.

	Savara.	Santâl.	Ho.	Juang.	Kurku.
Man	Orro (male)	Hor	Ho, horo	Manoso	Koro.
Woman	Era (wife)	Kuri	Era-kuri	......	Japai.
Father	......	Apu	Appu	Ba	Ba, abbâ.
Mother	Yâng	Enga, aya	Enga	Boïn	Aya.
Son	An, von	......	......	......	Kon.
Head	Bo	Bahâ	Bo	Boka	Duï.
Hair	Vu, vuooa	Up	Ub, up	Junta	Up.
Eye	Amet	Me	Med, met	Emet	Med, met.
Nose	Munu, amu	Mu	Muhun, mua.	Muthe	Mu.
Ear	Alu, lu	Lutur	Lutar	Lutar	Lutar.

[1] Dalton: Ethnology of Bengal, pp. 264, 274.

	Savara.	Santâl.	Ho.	Juang.	Kurku.
Mouth	Toran	Mochâ	Mocha	Tomor	Mache.
Tongue	Alângu	Alâng	Alâng	Alang	......
Hand	Sim, shi	Ti	Ti	Iti	Ti.
Leg	Jing	......	......	Emo-jing	......
Blood	Miyam	Ingâm	Myûm	......	Pachnâ.
I	Nyen	Ing	Ing	Aing	In.
Thou	Aman	Am	Am	Am	Am.
He	Ani	Huni	Ini, han	Ai	......
Bull	Arro-tang	Andia	Hada, hâra	......	......
Cow	Anshâlo-tang	......	......	Arai	......
Peacock	Mârâ	......	......	......	Mârâ.
Yellow	Sang sang	......	Sassang	......	Sarsang.
Water	Dâ, adâ, dân	Dâ	Dâ	Dâ	Dâ.
River	Alo, nai	......	Garrâ	......	Gaddâ.
Rain	Ganmiru	......	Gammada	......	......
Mountain	Baro, baru	......	Buru	......	Balla.
Large	Ludâ	......	Marang	......	Gad, kat.
Small	Sanna	......	Huding	......	Sani, sang.
1	Boye	Mi	Miad	Moin	Mia.
2	Bagu	Bariâ	Baria, varja	Ambâr	Bâria.
3	Yagi	Pia	Apia	Igota	Aphia, aphor.
4	Vonji, unju	Ponia	Upunia	Ganda	Upanko.
5	Mollayi	Mone	Monia	Pancha	Moneiku.
6	Tudya	Turui	Turia	Chugota	Tureiku.
7	Gulji	Eeâ	Aya	Sat gota	Yeika.
8	Tanji	Irâl	Iralia	Ath gota	Ilarku.
9	Tinji	Are	Aria	Nau gota	Areiku.
10	Galji	Gel	Gelna	Das gota	Gelku.
11	Galmoye	Gelmi	Gelmia	......	Gelmia.
20	Bok kodi	Isi	Hisi	Kuri	Bis.
30	Bok kodi galji	Isi gel	Hisi gel	......	......
40	Bâgu Kodi	Bari isi	Bari hisi	......	......
100	Baso	Mone isi	Mone hisi	San	Chovi.
1000	Galji so	......	......	......	......

In looking over these short vocabularies it has struck me that the words for man, *Orro, Horo, Koro*, may be compared with *aior*, which Herodotus has preserved as the Scythian word for "man." It may also, I think, be compared with the Tibetan *Hor*, which is the name of a tribe at the present day; while *Hor-po* means a man of the Hor tribe.

In modern times the Gonds are the only tribe of aborigines that has attained to independent sovereignty. But, so far as I have been able to discover, the earliest mention of western Gauḍa is in the inscription of Govinda Raja Ráshtrakuta, which is dated in Saka 730, or A.D. 808.[1] The reference, however, belongs to the reign of Govinda's father Nirupâma, who is said to have conquered Vatsa Raja, who had acquired Gauḍa with ease. But, as the Gonds call themselves *Koitur*, it would seem that they did not acquire the name *Gauḍa* or *Gonds*, until they had acquired the district of *Gauḍa*. The mention of Gauḍa in this inscription need not, therefore, refer to the people now called Gonds, but only to the country named Gauḍa, whatever race may have possessed it at the time.

Many writers have supposed that the *Kondali* of Ptolemy may have been the Gonds. But this identification seems to me to be very doubtful, for the district of the Kondali is described as only "*pars Phillitarum*," while the Phillitæ themselves are placed to the north as an independent people. Now, the latter have been identified with the Bhils, and it is just possible that the Gonds and Ahirs may be referred to under these two names. If so, this notice would place both of them in the second century A.D. But it seems to me much more probable that the term *Phillitai* means simply the "leaf-clad," and may therefore perhaps refer to the *Parna-Ṣavaras* or "leaf-clad" Savaras "of Varâha Mihira." Ptolemy, also, has a third tribe named Drillo Phyllitai. The notice of the Gonds is, consequently, very doubtful.

But the mention of the *Sabarâs* or *Sauras* by both Pliny and Ptolemy is certain, and shows that they were a well-known

[1] Indian Antiquary, 1882, p. 161.

tribe at the very beginning of the Christian era, when neither Kols nor Gonds had been heard of. Ptolemy's *Sabarai* lie to the south-west of the Gangetic Deltâ and at a short distance from the sea-coast. Pliny's Suari occupy a somewhat different position. His words are—

"In the interior behind these (the Palibothri) are the *Monedes* and the *Suari*, among whom is Mount Maleus."[1]

[1] The *Monedes* I have already identified with the *Mundas* of the present day, who hold the country of Chutia Nâgpur to the south of Hazâribagh, and therefore in the interior to the south of Patna or Palibothra. The *Suari* would accordingly represent the *Suirs* of Bihâr or Magadha, who certainly occupied this district in early times, and who are still well known to the people by name. The Mons Maleus may, perhaps, be intended for the famous mount Mandar, with which the Suras and Asuras churned the ocean. These Suari would, therefore, be best represented by the Santâls of the present day, who are, in fact, now called *Sabaras* by the Mâla Pahâris.

But the native notices of the Ṣabaras ascend to a much earlier period—perhaps even to the period of the Vedas, but certainly to that of the Aitareya Brâhmana, which declares all the Andhras, Pundras, *Sabaras*, Pulindas and Mutibas to be Dasyus and descendants of Viswâmitra.[2] As the composition of the Brâhmanas is assigned by Professor Max Muller to about B.C. 800, we learn that the *Ṣabaras* were a well-known clan of aborigines some two thousand years before the Gonds came into notice. That they were a powerful people we may gather from the way in which they are spoken of in the Mahâbhârata. In one place they are called the "terrible *Savaras*," and in another place it is said that Saineya (Krishna's charioteer) conquered the Kâmbojas, the Sakas, the *Ṣavaras*, the Kirâtas, and Varvaras, and "the earth was covered with the helmets and shaven and bearded heads of the Dasyus." In a third place it is said, "Having vanquished the Paurava in

[1] Pliny: Natur. Hist., Vol. VI, 23. Ab iis in interiore situ Monedes et Suari, quorum Mons Maleus.

[2] Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. II, 381.

battle, the Pândava conquered the *Utsavansanketas*, seven tribes of Dasyus inhabiting the mountains."

The names of these seven tribes are nowhere stated; but I infer that the descendants of Viswâmitra, already mentioned in the Mahâbhârata as Dasyus, must be included amongst them. If we compare these with the names of the peoples conquered by Saineya and with the different dialects, or Vibhâshas, spoken by the non-Aryan population, we obtain seven distinct names:—

Aitareya.	Mahâbhârata.	Vararuchi.[1]
Andhras	(Kambojas)	Drâvida.
Pundras	(Sakas)	Utkali.
Sabaras	Savaras	Sâbari.
Pulindas	Kiratas	Abhiraka.
Mutibas	Varvaras	[Sâkâri].

Rejecting the Kâmbojas and Sakas as dwelling beyond the limits of India proper, the following names will remain as those of the seven Indian races who were best known in ancient times:—

Andhras	Andaræ (Plin.)	Androi (Ptol.)
Pundras	...	...
Sabaras	Suari (Plin.)	Sabarai (Ptol.)
Pulindas	Molendæ (Plin.)	Pulindai (Ptol.)
Mutibas	Modubæ (Plin.)	Bettigoi (Ptol.)
Kirâtas	Kirrhadoi (Arrian)	Kirrhadai (Ptol.)
Varvaras	Barbaras (Varâha)	

In confirmation of the acknowledged existence of seven distinct tribes of Dasyus we have several references in the Rig Veda to their "seven cities," as if they were the capitals of the seven different races. Thus, we have the "seven cities of Ṣarad" and the "seven cities of Pipru." The country of these seven tribes was in the mountains, and it was conquered by the Pândava. At the time of the Mahâbhârata the Ṣabaras, or Savaras, were a well-known aboriginal race who had a dialect of their own called *Sâbari*. Their separate form of

[1] Commentary on Vararuchi.

speech is also acknowledged by the author of the Sâhitya Darpana, who says that the "*Abhiri* and *Sâbari* dialects are spoken by those who cut wood and gather leaves."[1] These are the occupations of most of the Ṣavaras at the present day. *Sâbar-mantr* is still used to denote a spell couched in colloquial words, in contradistinction to the *mantras* of Sanskrit.

As I have shown, the great affinity that even now exists between the speech of the Ṣavaras and the dialects of the Santâls, Mundâris, Hos, Juângs, and Kûrkûs, I infer that the name of *Ṣâbari*, as a distinct form of speech, may have covered all the cognate Kolian dialects, while that of the Andhras and Pulindas was probably Mahratta, and that of the Pundras was Bengali.

I have been disappointed in not finding any mention of the Ṣavaras either in Asoka's Inscriptions, or in the Code of Manu. The former, however, notices the *Nishâdas*, which is a general name for all aborigines, and would, therefore, include the Ṣavaras. But Asoka, who mentions the Andhras and Pulindas, is silent as to the Ṣavaras.

I now pass on to a later period, from 500 to 600 A.D., to the times of Amara Sinha, Varâha Mihira and Bâna, the minister of Harsha Vardhana, of Kanauj. By all of these the Ṣavaras are mentioned. Amara Sinha simply notices them as Mlecchas, or barbarians, along with Kirâtas and Pulindas, to which Colebrooke appends the following explanatory note:—"*Kirâta*, living in forests and armed with a bow; *Ṣavara*, or *Patra-Ṣavara,* wearing feathers (a peacock's tail, &c.) =*Pulinda*, or *Paulinda*, speaking no intelligible language."[2] I think it probable that Colebrooke's reading of *Patra-Ṣavaras* is erroneous, as Varâha Mihira gives the name of *Parṇa-Ṣavara*, or leaf-clad *Ṣavaras.*

Varâha places in the south-east quarter, in the territory of the aborigines, the Purikas, the Dasâmas, the "*naked Ṣabaràs*, and the *Parṇa Ṣabaras*," and in the south the *Sauris* and

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II, 62.
[2] Amara-Kosha, p. 252.

Kirṇas.[1] The commentator, however, takes these two names as one, or *Sauri-Kirṇas*, who are probably the people of Hwen Thsang's *Kirna-Suvarna.* Professor Kern thinks that the Parṇa Ṣavaras are "manifestly the Phyllitæ of Ptolemy," and he explains the name as "feeding upon leaves." But, as we know that the Juângs, a cognate race, still wear leaves, it seems to me more probable that the term means "leaf-clad." In other places Varâha speaks of the "*Ṣavara* savages," (IX—15), the "savage Ṣabaras and Pulindas" (IX—29), and of various tribes of *Ṣabara* savages (XXXII—15). This last notice must refer to more than the two tribes of *Nagna* Ṣabaras, or "Naked Ṣavaras," and *Parna Ṣavaras*, or "Leaf-clad." Both Amara and Varâha date about A.D. 550.

In Bâna's Harsha Charita we have the story of Harsha Vardhana's search, under the guidance of a Ṣavara chief, for his sister Râjya-sri in the wilds of the Vindhyan mountains. This took place immediately after his accession to the throne in A.D. 607. The following is Bhau-Daji's translation of this curious story:—

"Raja Harsha, having entered the wilds of the Vindhya mountains travelled in all directions for many days for the discovery of his sister Râjya-sri. He met a chief named Vyâghra-ketu, son of Sarabha-ketu. He introduced to the king, Nirghâta, the commander-in-chief of the Bhûkampa *Savaras.* The king made enquiries of the *Savara* chief regarding Râjya-sri; he replied that no woman answering to the description given by the king was known to have been seen in his jungles, but promised to make vigorous efforts for her discovery. He remarked that, at the distance of 2 miles, on a hill with a thick wood at its base, there resided, with a number of disciples, a Bauddha Bhikshu, a mendicant (Pindapâti) named Divâkaramitra, who might possibly have heard of Râjya-sri. Hearing this, the king thought that Maitrâyaniya (Brahmana) Divâkaramitra the friend of Grahavarma, having abandoned the "way of the Vedas" in his youth, put on brown clothes and embraced the Saugata creed. King Harsha, taking the *Savara* chief with him, proceeded to the abode of Divâkaramitra. He admired the mountain scenery on the way, and got down from his conveyance on approach-

[1] Brihat Sanhita, Vol. XIV, 10—22.

ing the hermit's residence. A Bhikshu (mendicant) came and said, 'A woman in sorrow is ready to destroy herself by fire, not far from his abode.' Hearing this, the king, with Divâkaramitra, proceeded quickly, followed by the king's retinue, to the place of the fire. With great difficulty she was persuaded to abandon her purpose, and they succeeded in consoling her and soothing her sorrow."[1]

In this account the *Ṣavara* chief is named *Vyâghra-ketu*, or the "Tiger-demon," while his father is *Ṣarabha-ketu*, or the "Monster-demon," and their commander-in-chief *Nirghâta*, or the "Whirl-wind." All these are obvious inventions, as well as the name of *Bhûkampa*, or "Earthquake"-*Ṣavaras*, as the general's people are called. But we may accept the fact that in the Vindhya mountains, somewhere to the south of Kanauj, the *Ṣavaras* were still numerous and powerful. These can only have been the ancestors of the Western *Ṣavaras*, as none of the eastern *Ṣavaras* came near the Vindhyas mountains.

In the Kâsí Khanda, of the Skanda Purâna, there is a story of a powerful *Ṣavara* chief named *Pingâksha*, and his uncle *Zarâksha*, who lived in a *palli* (town) on the bank of Nirvindhya.[2] Here again the *Ṣavaras* are found about the Vindhyan provinces. But the names of the chief and his uncle seem to be simple inventions.

In the Dasa Kumâra Charita there is a story of a child, who, having been dropped by his nurse, scrambled behind the dead body of a cow. A tiger, having seized the cow, was killed by a *Ṣavara* forester, who rescued the child, intending to sacrifice him as an offering to the forest goddess of the *Ṣavaras*.[3]

In an inscription in the city of Bhilsa of about A.D. 1000, noticed by Professor Hall, Kaundinya Vâchaspati, the minister of Raja Krishna, who dwelt on the Vetravati (or Betwa), defeated the lord of Chedi, after slaying a *Ṣavara* named Sinha, who Professor Hall thinks may have been the commander of the Chedian army. Here again we have a distinct

[1] Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society, Vol. X, 39—41.
[2] Vans Kennedy's Researches.
[3] Mrs. Manning's Ancient and Mediæval India, Vol. II, 335.

notice of a *Ṣavara* chief on the Betwa as late as A.D. 1000. He, of course, belonged to the western *Ṣavaras*.[1]

The *Ṣavaras* are several times mentioned in the *Kathâ* Sarit Sâgara, but in the latter part of the work they are certainly confounded with Bhils and Pulindas. In fact, all three names are used as if they were only various terms for the same tribe. Thus, Vindhya-ketu is called indifferently king of the Pulindas, king of the Bhillas, and prince of the *Ṣavaras*. The scene takes place in the Vindhya Hills in Malwa, where Sundra-sena is about to be sacrificed to the goddess Durgâ. Afterwards a king of the Bhillas sends a *Ṣavara* with a letter. The *Ṣavara* is described as carrying a bow in his hand "with his hair tied up in a knot behind *with a creeper*, black himself and wearing *a loin cincture of vilva leaves*." Here we have the *Parṇa Ṣavara* accurately described, in spite of his being a messenger of the Bhilla king. As the *Kathâ Sarita Sâgara* was composed in verse by Soma Deva of Kashmir as late as the 12th century, I suppose that the names of *Ṣavara*, Bhilla and Pulinda were used according to the requirements of the metre. But in the earlier part of his work there is no confusion of this kind, as the *Ṣavara* chief, the father of Sundari, is a *Ṣavara* throughout. But he also is said to have been preparing to sacrifice Sridatta, who became the husband of Sundari.[2]

The versified tales of the *Kathâ Sarita Sâgara* are believed to have been taken from the prose tales of the Vrihat Kathâ of Gunâdhya, who is supposed to have written his work in the 6th century. Any authority that they possess must, therefore, be referred to the earlier date, contemporary with Amara Sinha and Varâha Mihira. Their testimony, however, may be accepted as confirming that of Bâna, that the *Ṣavaras* were living in considerable numbers under their own chiefs so late as the beginning of the 7th century. The Bhilsa inscription, which I have previously quoted, shows that the *Ṣavaras* were still in the same position as late as the 11th century, when one of their tribe was the general of the Chedian army.

[1] Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, 1862, p. 112, note.
[2] Tawney's translation of Katha Sarit, Sagara, pp. 62, 63, and 381—384.

I have thus traced the *Ṣauras* for a period of 2,000 years, from B.C. 800 down to A.D. 1200, during which time there is no mention whatever of Gonds, either in the Vindhya hills, or on the Narbada. All the evidence tends to show that the *Ṣavaras* were the dominant race of aborigines. The same may be inferred in the more easterly provinces, where the Suari of Pliny and the *Sabaraí* of Ptolemy are closely followed by the *Suïrs* in Magadha, where the fort of Amara Sinha Suïr still exists at Buddha Gaya, to confirm the traditions of the people.[1] According to Buchanan, the Suïrs conquered the country from the Cheros, and ruled over Kârusha-desa (Shâhâbâd) and the greater part of Benares, from A.D. 499 to 989.[2] The Cheros still exist in some numbers in the Shâhâbâd hills, to the south of Chayanpur. One of their clan, in fact, held the right of making the *tikâ*, or mark of installation, on the forehead of the Chayanpur Râja. To the west of the Son river, towards Chunâr, I found that they were generally called *Khers* and *Kheros*. Buchanan says that the Kheros are Kols.

The Suïrs of Shâhâbâd are now reduced to a few families. My Assistant, Mr. H. B. W. Garrick, made assiduous enquiries for them, and was at last successful in getting a man and a boy to visit his camp. Of these two individuals he took photographs to illustrate his account of them. Mr. Garrick found only 47 persons of the *Suïr*, or *Swiri*, race in the whole district of Shâhâbâd, from Arrah to Mirzapur. They claim to be Suryavansis, and to have derived their names from *Ṣavaran*, or *Soverath* (*Suvrata*), who ruled over the countries of Ayodya, Benares, and Magadha. In appearance they resemble the Uriyas; and they have adopted the Kshatriya thread (*janeo*), and various *tilaks* or forehead marks of red (*rolí*) and yellow (*chandan*). They have also adopted Hindu names, as—

Men.	*Women.*
Sitalu Sinh.	Shastra-vali.
Mritajit Sinh.	Parbat-vali.

[1] Archæological Survey, Vol. I.
[2] Buchanan's Eastern India, Vol. I, 407 and 129.

Mr. Garrick's photographs show a Suïr man and boy from the village of Khiâlgarh to the south of Benares.[1] The caste thread and the profusion of Tilak marks are prominent features in the portraits of people who lay claim to a Kshatriya origin.

The claim to Suryavansa descent has evidently been suggested by the spoken forms of both names, as the *Ṣavaras* are generally called *Ṣauras*, while the *Suryavansis* are called *Saura-bansis* and *Sauar-bansis*.

Buchanan has preserved several notices of the Suïrs of Shâhâbâd and Bihâr. He repeats the firm belief of the people that the great fort of Amara Sinha at Buddha Gaya was made by Amar Sinh, a Suïr Raja. He also attributes to the Suïrs the great fort of Kâbar to the north-west of Gaya, and the extensive remains of Raja Nindu's city at Nindaur, or Patan, in Shâhâbâd, as well as the temple and curious pillars at Baijnâth in the same district. He mentions a Suïr king named Phudi Chandra, who is said to have expelled the Cheros in the year 120 or 140 of Vikrama. But I doubt the curious name of Phudi; and I altogether repudiate the date, as it is quite certain that neither the Pandit of the Survey, nor even Buchanan himself, could have read any date of such an early period. He speaks also of Raja Madan Pâl Suïr as the builder of the ruins at Baijnâth.[2] But the inscription of this king, which still exists at that place, clearly belongs to Madan Pâl, one of the well-known Pâla Rajas of Magadha. According to the *Kandarpa Sanghita* of Varâha Mihira, the Siviras, or Suïrs, expelled the Cheros in the year 421 of Saka, or A.D. 499, and were themselves overthrown by Jaya Deva Pramâra, in Saka 911, or A.D. 990.

Buchanan also states that, according to several informants, ncluding the Cheros themselves, the people who expelled them were a tribe called *Hariho*. Now, this name has so close a resemblance to *Harahaura* Hunas that I am inclined to suspect the traditions may be correct. This seems the more likely

[1] See Plates XXXII and XXXIII.
[2] Buchanan's Eastern India, Vol. I, 463.

when we remember that Dâmodara Gupta of Magadha, in the last quarter of the 6th century (575—600 A.D.), had fought with the fierce army of the western-Hûnas.[1] As these Hûnas would appear to have been also called Maushari, or Maukhari, who were certainly reigning in Shâhâbâd in the 6th century, I am inclined to assign the expulsion of the Cheros to them. It is probable enough that the Suïrs may have assisted the Maukharis, in which case they would, of course, have claimed the conquest for their own clan.

Regarding the dominions of the Suïrs, Buchanan says—

> "The Siviras seem to have been a powerful people; their government having extended not only over the whole of this district (Shâhâbâd or Kârusha-desa), but certainly over a great part, if not the whole, of what became afterwards the province of Benares."[2]

I understand by this that the Suïrs were the zemindars, or petty chiefs, under the great Maukhari kings.

Buchanan describes the Suïrs as an impure tribe, who eat pigs and fowls, and drink strong liquors.[3] "They were strenuous worshippers of Siva, and paid peculiar attention to Hanumân. They worship also the Bîrs, or deified ghosts of persons who have died a violent death. Originally, this worship was confined by each of the aboriginal tribes to ghosts of its own clan. But, as the people get more and more mixed up, this limitation has been much neglected with respect to the more famous and popular *spirits*." Buchanan found that in some places Musahars and Bhuïyas were reckoned as "two names for the same tribe."[4] I also found the same, and, further, that the Rajwârs were considered the same as Bhuïyas. As far as I can make out, all these three peoples are of the same race as the Suïrs. With them, also, I would join the Cheros, or Kheros, who are an acknowledged Kolian tribe.

The most numerous branch of the Kolian aborigines are Bhuïyas or Bhumiyas, whom Dalton estimates roughly at 2½

[1] Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, 1866, p. 273.
[2] Buchanan's Eastern India, Vol. I, p. 407.
[3] Ditto ditto p. 409.
[4] Ditto ditto p. 176.

millions, scattered through most of the districts of Bengal, and massed in Chutia Nâgpur and Orissa.[1] He makes the Bhuïyas a separate group, distinct from the acknowledged Kol tribes, and is inclined to place them with the Dravidians. "They are," he says, "the earliest known settlers in parts of Singhbhûm, Gângpur, Bonai, Keonjhar and Bâmra,"—that is, in the most southerly districts of the Chutia Nâgpur provinces, and in the western portion of the Katak Mahals. But they are also found in Chattisgarh, Bhandâra, and Mandala, of the Central Provinces, as well as in Shâhâbâd and the parts of Ghâzipur and Benares to the south of the Ganges. Dalton further considers that the Ṣavara Bendkars are connected with the Bhuïyas, and, Mr. Hewit adds, the Baigas of Mandala. I think, however, that Dalton is wrong when he carries them to Northern Bengal, and makes them the conquerors of Kûch-Bihâr and Assam. He has apparently followed Buchanan in confounding the Bhuïhârs or Bhûmihârs of Northern Bengal and Bihâr with the Bhuïyâs of Shâhâbâd. The latter are an acknowledged aboriginal tribe, while the former profess to be the descendants of Brahmans who took to agriculture as an occupation. Hence their name of *Bhumi-hâra,* or "Land-tillers." The Brahmans stoutly deny this account, and say that the Bhuïhârs are descended from the spurious Brahmans whom Jarâsandha created from men of inferior caste. The Rajas of Benares, Bettiah, and Tikâri are of this class, but they call themselves Brahmans, although they are more generally known as *Bâbhans.* But this very title of *Bâbhan* seems to me to confirm their claim to Brahman descent, as Bâbhan is a common pronunciation of the name amongst the lower classes. In Bârendra, or Northern Bengal, the people still speak of the *Bâra Bhuïhâr* as the former rulers of the country, *and* I believe that they refer to the well-known dynasty of the Pâl Rajas, whose caste or tribal name is never mentioned in their inscriptions.

Dalton's estimate of the Bhuïya population as 2½ millions consequently requires a very considerable reduction for the

[1] Ethnology of Bengal, pp. 139, 243.

eastern provinces. But, with the addition of the Bhuïyas of Shâhâbâd, Ghâzipur, and Benares in the north, and of those of Chattisgarh, Bhandâra, and Mandala in the south-west, I think that they may probably amount to about 2 millions.

The Bhuïyas of the provinces lying along the south bank of the Ganges are generally small and slightly made, with round faces, high cheek-bones, blackish colour, and little moustache or beard. They are divided into four clans, named Rikhiâsan, Dhurwâr, Mahatwâr, and Mâyarwâr. The last is the lowest, and its members eat snakes, as well as the meat of buffaloes which have been offered in sacrifice to their goddess Thâkurâni Bhainsâsuri Devi, and of goats which have been offered to Kâli Devi. The chief occupation of all classes is wood-cutting, as none of them possess any land, which is now in the hands of Aryan tribes.

In the Chutia Nâgpur provinces the status of the Bhuïyas is quite different, as most of the land belongs to them as sub-proprietors, as well as the principal offices of state, which are hereditary. To them also belongs the privilege of giving the *tilak* of investiture to the chiefs. They have a tradition that they were "once united as a nation in Eastern India, and had a king of their own, but they were broken up and dispersed by invasion from the west."[1]

The Bhuïyas of Keonjhar are divided into four clans, called Râjkuli, Mâl or Des, Dandsena, and Khatti. They have large mouths, thick projecting lips, low narrow foreheads, with little hair on the face. They are short in stature, their average height being only 5 feet 2 inches. Their principal deity is Thâkurâni-mâi (Bhainsâsuri Devi), to whom it is said that human sacrifices were formerly offered every third year.[2]

The Bhuiyas of Chattisgarh worship Kâro Byro (or Kâl Bhairu). They have broad faces and projecting lower jaws. The Baigas are apparently only the priests of the Bhuiyas, and not a separate clan, as a Baiga, like a Brahman amongst the

[1] Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal, pp. 140, 141.
[2] Ditto ditto p. 145.

Hindus, both ties and unties the knot which fastens the clothes of the bride and bridegroom together.

The Bendkars, or Savaras of Keonjhar and the southern districts, worship Bhainsâsuri Devi, to whom goats, fowls, pigs, sheep, and buffaloes are offered. As a proof of their connection with the Bhuiyas, Dalton notes that in their dances "the attitude, the steps and the melody are the same for all Bhuiyas, and are unmistakeable characteristics of the race from the Ganges to the Mahânadi.[1]"

Amongst the Bhuiyas of Keonjhar there is a division named Saont, which Dalton says is a thoroughly Hinduised portion of the clan. Now, Saont, from which the Santals are said to have derived their title, is the name of a place in Midnapur, that is also known as Silda.[2] If the derivation of the name be correct, then the Santâls or Saontâls, who number not less than 200,000 persons, must be accepted as a simple division of the Bhuiyas. This, again, connects the Bhuiyas with the Ṣavaras, as the language of the Santâls has a close affinity with that of the Ṣavaras.

The Mâlars, or people of the Râjmahal hills, are classed by Dalton as a Dravidian group, although he quotes a statement that the Mal Pahâriyas of the Ramgarh hills call the Râjmahalis Ṣavaras.[3] The specimen of their language which he gives shows little affinity with either Dravidian or Kolian dialects. His estimates of their number at 400,000 persons is based on a statement received by Buchanan from a native superintendent that they had 80,000 houses. But, as Buchanan does not mention the Santâls at all, it seems almost certain that the superintendent's statement must include them as well as the Mâlar or Hill Râjmahalis. Under this view the number of the Mâlars will be just equal to that of the Santâls, or 200,000, which is Dalton's estimate.

The following is my estimate of the probable numbers of the Ṣavaras, and of all the cognate Kolian races connected

[1] Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal, pp. 149–150.
[2] Ditto ditto ditto p. 144.
[3] Ditto ditto ditto pp. 264—274.

with them either by actual affinities of language or by the statements of the people themselves :—

Western Ṣavaras . . .	125,000	
Eastern Ṣavaras	125,000	
		250,000
Bhüiyas	1,500,000	
Santâls	200,000	
Mâlar Râjmahalis . . .	200,000	
Mundâris	400,000	
Hos	150,000	
Bhûmij	300,000	
Kurkûs	50,000	
Bhils	50,000	
		2,850,000
		3,100,000

or upwards of 3 millions of persons.

I made numerous enquiries amongst the Sauras about their past history, their language, their customs, and their religion. At one village only did I hear that they had heard from their fathers that all the Sauras had come from Kâro-Bâgh-Bijora, and this fact, they asserted, was always repeated at every marriage ceremony. As this statement was not confirmed by subsequent enquiries, I concluded that the people who gave the information must have referred to the migration of their own particular ancestors from the territory of Bijâwar in Bundelkhand. But about Kârobâgh I never could learn anything.

As to language I found that the Sauras had everywhere adopted the dialects of the Hindu population amongst which they lived.

The western Ṣavaras generally live by cutting wood and burning charcoal. Many of them carry bows, but every one carries an axe. I met a party of men and lads going to the hills near Pathâri to collect honey. The great mass of the men are very poorly clad, few of them wearing more than a scanty waist-cloth when at work. The women are more decently clad, but their one sheet is nearly always very dirty. All of the women are more or less tattooed.

The Ṣauras raise no temples for the objects of their worship, but only low earthen platforms, which are nearly always placed under fine large trees. At one place the god was named *Simârya Deo*, to whom the people offered fruits and flowers. At another place I found a shrine of the goddess *Kher-mâta*, to whom they offered fowls, and a Hindola, or "Swing."[1] She is also called *Kherpatni*, and is identified with Bhawâni by the Brahmans. *Dulha Deo*, or the god of marriage, is also extensively worshipped with offerings of cocoanuts and miniature shoes. The latter are supposed to be the bridegroom's shoes, which are always made of cloth by the bride. But the chief objects of reverence amongst the Ṣavaras, and all the other aboriginal races, are the deified ghosts, or spirits of persons who have died a violent death, either accidentally or in battle. As this subject is an extensive one, I have treated it in a separate appendix.

I now come to the principal object of this paper, which is to show the dominant position which the Ṣavaras held amongst the aboriginal races of ancient India. In none of the authorities which I have quoted, either native or classical, is there any mention of Gonds, or Kols, or Bhils, but only of Andhras, Pulindas, Ṣavaras, Kirâtas, Pundras, Mutibas, and Barbaras. In the middle ages we find repeated notices of Ṣavara chiefs and generals, who may be supposed to have held much the same position in the Vindhyan district, which the Gonds afterwards held in the provinces on both banks of the Narbada. Of this we have, indeed, a distinct proof in one of the Sanskrit inscriptions from Sirpur on the Mahânadi river. The donor is named *Udayana Nripa of the Savaranwaya*, or "King Udayana of the Ṣavara tribe." He was a tributary of Siva Gupta, the Pândava king of Mahâ Kosala, who reigned in the last quarter of the 4th century A.D. I think it probable that Udayana may have been the Raja of *Suarmâr and Khalâri* to the eastward of Sirpur, where the Ṣauràs are still found in considerable numbers.[2]

[1] *See* Plate XXXIV for a sketch of the Hindola.
[2] *See* Plàte XVIII – Inscription A, lines 2 and 3.

My conclusion is that, in early times, where the name of the Ṣavara is used, it probably covers all the different divisions of the *Kols*, as they are now called, including Kûrkûs and Bhils in the west, with Santâls and Bhüiyas, Mundas and Hos, Bhûmij and Juângs in the east. In later times, when Soma Deva wrote the *Katha Sarita Sâgara*, the name of Ṣavara is used as synonymous with Pulinda and Bhilla, and, therefore, means only a man of an aboriginal tribe, of whom the writer knew nothing except by hearsay.

35.—DEMON WORSHIP IN NORTHERN INDIA.

The time was when all the vernacular languages of India were looked upon as so many rustic forms of Sanskrit, and when all the exceptional cults of the aborigines were held to be only debased forms of the loftier Nature worship of the Aryan Hindus. Buchanan was the first to point out that the various forms of demon-worship were peculiar to the aborigines. He was afterwards followed in the same line by Sir William Sleeman and Dr. Stevenson, and the latter further added that a great part of the vernacular languages of India was of non-Sanskrit origin. It is certainly quite possible for the language of a barbarous people to be swamped by that of their more civilised conquerors. But if the conquerors have come from a totally different kind of country, differing not only in its climate, but in its productions, it seems highly probable that they would adopt the indigenous names for trees and animals and other things that were peculiar to their new country. When the Aryans were on the banks of the Oxus, they may have heard of, and perhaps may have even seen, an elephant; but they could not possibly have seen a banian tree, nor a mango tree, nor a teak tree, nor a sisam tree, nor a sandal tree; and it is more than probable that they knew nothing of cotton and sugar and indigo except as articles of commerce. When they first entered India, therefore, they must either have invented new names for such things, or have adopted the old names of the conquered people.

We know at least that the Aryans ridiculed the aborigines on account of their *burr*, and gave them the nick-name of *barbaras*, or barbarians, from which we may conclude that any words containing the burred *r* must be indigenous. To this class I would refer the name of the banian tree, *bat*, which is invariably pronounced *bar* or *war*, with a burring *r*. Hence, as *da* means water in several of the aboriginal dialects, we have *War-dâ*, or the "banian tree river." That this is the true derivation of the name seems nearly certain from the plentifulness of the banian tree in the Wardâ district, where we also find the names of *War-ora*, *Warar*, *Wargaon*, *Warhona*, *Warha*, *Wargai*, *Warjhari*, *Warkuli*, *Warnera*, and *Waḍnera*, and *Baḍnera*, several times repeated; and even the name of Berâr itself is said to be properly *War Hâr* or *Baṛhâr*, the country of the *baṛ*, "a banian tree."

Another aboriginal term is that of *siṇd* or *chiṇd* for the khajur tree, or wild date, which gives its name to *Siṇdwâra* or *Chiṇdwâra*, the "country of the wild date." So also we have *Siṇdi*, *Siṇdgaon*, and *Siṇdkhera*; and I cannot help suspecting that many of the streams which are now called *Sindhu*, were originally named *Sind-da*, or "wild date river," which the Brahmans by a slight alteration have converted into an Aryan appellation.

Judging from these examples, it seems probable that the *Narma-dâ*, the *Bâhu-da*, the *Dâmu-dâ*, the *Mânu-dâ*, and even the *Pad-dâ*, or Ganges, may be only slightly altered forms of the original indigenous names.

Now what is true of the names holds equally good with the customs and superstitious beliefs of the people, of which many still hold their heads above the waters of the Aryan deluge. The old early religion of the conquerors is pretty well known from the hymns of the Rigveda; and most of the changes which have since taken place in it can be traced through the epic poems and Purânas. But there is one very extensive belief that now prevails over the whole continent of India, of which no trace is found in any of the Hindu books This cult is *demon-worship*, which is common to all the aboriginal tribes, and which is now practised by all classes of

Hindus, although both Brahmans and Rajputs profess to ignore it. Even Musalmâns of the lower classes are not ashamed to join in the rites openly. But Brahmans and Rajputs, and even Baniyas, who are ashamed to acknowledge their belief in the efficacy of the worship, have all the ceremonies performed for them by deputy.

But there are other aboriginal cults besides demon-worship, which, as they have been adopted by the Brahmans, and incorporated in their present system, are not so easily recognisable. These cults include the whole of the *grâm-devatas,* or local *Thâkurs*, who are represented by simple round stones, and who have consequently been annexed to Brahmanism as so many different forms of Mahâdeva by simply adding his title of Iswara to the name of the local divinity. Thus, the familiar Goṛ Bâba, the deified ghost of the aboriginal tribes, has, in many places, become a new manifestation of Siva as *Goṛeswara*. Similarly, the powerful and malignant goddesses, who were propitiated by the sacrifice of a buffalo or a goat, have been annexed to Brahmanism as two of the numerous forms of Devi by the transparent fiction of a Bhainsâsuri Devi and a Kâli Devi. At Umga I found that the Bhainsâsuri goddess was represented by a simple stone, before which several thousands of burnt clay horses were piled up, the accumulation of many years' offerings. Another popular goddess is *Mahâmai,* or the "Great Mother," whom I identify as one of the aboriginal deities from her shrine, which is exactly the same in all its details as those of the *grâm-devatâs*, and deified ghosts, whose indigenous origin is acknowledged. Her shrine consists of a low flat mound of earth with seven knobs of coloured clay in a single row at the head or west side.[1] Another name of the same aboriginal goddess I have found is Jagadambi Devi, her shrine being a simple, flat mound of earth with seven knobs on the top and a flag in front to the east.

Demon-worship is the propitiation of the spirit or ghost of any one who has met a violent or untimely death, whether by design or by accident, including poison and disease. Even

[1] See Plate XXXIV, Figs. G and H.

women who die in the child-bed pang, wretches who for their crimes we hang, whose tendons the hangman forgot to sever, are believed to have the same powers of causing evil to the living as those who have been killed by tigers, or by lightning, or by any other violent cause.

The ghosts of men are frequently called *prêt,* or *bhut,* or *betâl,* and even *pisâch,* but the most common names for them are *Bir,* or spirit, and *Dâk,* or demon. Thus, I have heard *Tulsi-bir* also called *Bir Betâl.* The name of *Bir* appears to be used all over India. At first it was probably used only for those who fell in battle; as *vir,* like the Latin *vir,* means "hero." In Southern India the memorial stones of those who fell in battle are still known as *Bir-kal,* or "Hero stones." The deified spirits are distinguished often by some term denoting the manner of their death, thus—

Târ-bir, the ghost of a man who was killed by falling from a *Târ-palm,* or toddy tree.

Baghat-bir, the ghost of a man who was killed by a tiger or leopard (*bâgh*).

Bijaliya-bir, the ghost of a man who was killed by lightning (*bijali*).

Nagya bir, the ghost of a man who was killed by a snake.

I have met with the shrines of many other men who have died a sudden death, but there was no special name attached to them. Of these, one was the tomb of a Brahman who had been killed by a cow, and another was the tomb of a Musalmân Mahaut named Jagru Mia, who, while cutting fodder for his elephant, fell from the tree and was killed. This last death happened only a few years ago, and I saw his widow make her offerings at the tomb. A third tomb was that of a Kashmerian lady, who was said to have fled from Delhi to Tânda in Oudh with only one leg, and died from exhaustion!

The ghosts of women who die during pregnancy or in child-birth are named *Churail.* They are supposed to be specially powerful and vindictive.

But each of the above is only a local cult, confined to the family of the dead person or to the village to which he

belonged. In the case of a chief, or great man, the worship would be spread over the whole of his district, and would embrace the whole of his followers and their descendants. This has been the case with *Tulsi-bir* and *Barsi-bir*, two chiefs of the aboriginal race of *Bhuiyas*, or *Musahar,* who have been worshipped for several centuries by the people of Shâhâbâd and Bihâr. Buchanan remarks that some of the ghosts "belong to tribes which appear to have been long extinct in these provinces." This is not confirmed by my experience, as all the caste names that I could hear of are those of people still in existence.

This kind of demon worship exists in every part of Northern India that I have visited. I have found the well-known earthen mounds in most villages from the banks of the Jumna to the eastern frontier of Bihâr and Northern Bengal, and from the foot of the hills in Oudh to the banks of the Wardâ, the Wen-Gangâ and the Mahânadi in the south. Almost every village has one local demon, and many of them have three or four. Indeed, so widely spread is this kind of cult that it now embraces even Musalmân Ghâzis, who have died fighting for their faith. Thus, the famous Shâhid Sâlâr, whose tomb is at Bahraich, is often called *Ghâzi-bîr,* and his tomb is visited by Hindus, as well as by Musalmâns. When any one has been suffering from a long illness he pays a visit to the martyr's shrine, and the journey is often found beneficial. It is even reported that not long ago a European came there with a sick wife, and that she soon afterwards recovered!

All these ghosts, or spirits, are believed to be mischievous, and some of them bitterly malicious, and the only means employed to oppose their rancour is to build shrines for them, and to make them offerings of a fowl, a goat, a pig, or on grand occasions of a buffalo. Any severe sickness, and more especially any epidemic disease, such as small-pox or cholera, is attributed to the malignancy of certain of these demon ghosts, who must be propitiated accordingly. The man-tiger is, perhaps, the most dreaded of all these spirits; for, when a tiger has killed a man, the tiger is considered safe from harm, as the spirit of the man rides upon his head, and guides him

clear of danger. Accordingly, it is believed that "the only sure mode of destroying a tiger who has killed many people is to begin by making offerings to the spirits of his victims, thereby depriving him of their valuable services."

There is a goddess named Sitalâ Devi, who is more specially worshipped in cases of small-pox; but, should the disease become epidemic, or should cholera break out in any district, the people at once begin to propitiate the spirit of Hardol, or Hardaur, Lâla.

It is difficult to ascertain the whole of the ceremonies which are observed in propitiating these demon ghosts; as I found the people to be very reluctant, and in the case of Brahmans too much ashamed, to speak of them. The general facts are all well known—such as the offerings of goats, and fowls, and pigs, as well as flowers and fruits. But what forms of invocation or prayer are addressed to the spirits I have found it very difficult to learn. At the shrine of Shahid Sâlâr, or *Ghâzi bír,* at Bahraich, I was told that both Hindus and Musalmans become possessed after a time, when their eyes turn red, and they begin to address the attendants of the shrine, as well as other pilgrims, in very wild language.

Sir William Sleeman briefly describes the ceremony that was practised by the old queen of Sâgar to drive away an epidemic in 1832. On that occasion the queen and most of the people of the city made their offerings and sacrificed a goat with great noise, and the disease gave way from that moment. Sir William also gives the account of a similar ceremony practised by a native friend, under the direction of a man very learned in such matters, with even greater effect:—[1]

"This man caused a small carriage to be made up after a plan of his own for a pair of scape-goats, which were harnessed to it, and driven during the ceremonies to a wood some distance from the town, where they were let loose. From that hour the disease entirely ceased in the town. The goats never returned. "Had they come back," said Sureemunt, the disease must have come back with them; so he took them a long way into the wood. Indeed, he believed that the man, to make sure of them, had afterwards caused them to be

[1] Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official.

offered up as a sacrifice to the shrine of Hardol Lâla in that very wood! He had himself never seen a *puja* religious ceremony so entirely and immediately efficacious as this, and much of its success was, no doubt, attributable to the science of the man who planned the carriage, and himself drove the pair of goats to the wood! No one had ever before heard of the plan of a pair of scape-goats being driven in a carriage; but it was likely, he thought, to be extensively adopted in future."

In my account of the Sabaras I have already mentioned the *Ṣâbari mantras*, or "charms" addressed to the ghosts or spirits of persons who have died a violent death, to mitigate or appease their supposed vindictiveness. This dread of ghosts is common to all the aboriginal races from whom it has been very generally adopted by their Aryan conquerors, and even by the lower classes of Muhammadans. Most of the deceased persons whose spirits are now worshipped were the ancestors of some of the aborigines. But their worship is generally local, and confined to the limits occupied by the respective tribes to which they belonged.

To the north of the Ganges, in Tirhût and Northern Bengal, *Ṣales* is the most widely known. He is said to have been a Dusâd, who was killed in battle by Jowâhir Singh. His ghost is worshipped by Dusâds and Nonhiyas, who make propitiatory offerings of kids and young pigs. To the south of the Ganges the most popular ghosts are Tulsi Bîr and Barsi or Barchi Bîr, who were Bhuiya chiefs. A few miles to the south of Allahabad, at Bhita, I first came across Gor Bâbâ, who is also called Gor-goreya. His name is very common in Bundelkhand and Malwa, and in the Narbada provinces. I have heard him called *Raja Bâbâ Gor*, and *Raoji Bâbâ Gor*, and also *Gor-masân*. It has been supposed that the name may have some reference to the *Ghori* kings of Mâḷwa; but, as it is always pronounced *Gor*, it must either be referred to the *Gors* or *Gonds* of *Gauda*, or much more probably to the *Goristân*, or "burial ground," where the ghosts of the dead are especially numerous. The latter derivation seems the more probable, as *masân*, with which it is frequently coupled, is undoubtedly only a corruption of the Sanskrit *Smasân*, or

place where dead bodies were buried or burned. At one lar village I found that the shrine of Gor Bâbâ was also call *Pret ka chabutra*, or the "Ghosts' Shrine," which shows tl *Pret* and *Gor* are used as synonimous terms.

Everywhere these deified ghosts are propitiated wi offerings of flowers and fruits, fowls, kids, and young pig Clay figures of horses and elephants are also offered in gre numbers, while *mantras*, or charms, are sung by the me These charms are called *Sâbari-mantras*, or "charms of tl Ṣabaras," and from this I infer that, when the name was give the Ṣabaras must have been a well-known and leading tribe the aborigines, who made use of them. Buchanan says th they are called *Jâdu-mantras*, or "mystic incantations," an that they were first divulged by order of Kâmakhya, that i *Kâmakshya*, or the goddess of desire. But these are mor properly the *mantras* which are addressed to their deitie like Mahâmai and Bhainsasuri Devi, to secure the accom plishment of their wishes. The Ṣâvari mantras, on the con trary, are addressed only to the deified ghosts of those wh have met with violent deaths.

The shrines of the *Birs* are generally low, earthen platforms with one or more paraboloidal knobs, or obelisks of clay which are nearly always white-washed and streaked with rec lines. The platform is usually placed under a tree. One of the largest that I have seen was at the village of Barkheri, near Râhatgarh, in Malwa. It stands on a rocky eminence, about 20 feet high, close to the bank of a stream. The shrine itself is a square mound of earth 2 feet high, with a Datton tree on the west side, and a small recess on the top without roof, but open on the east side.[1] In front stood a small yellow flag, and in the recess itself, as well as on the platform, there were numerous round boulder stones and clay horses and pots of curious shapes, which had been offered by the sick and unfortunate to propitiate the wrath of *Gor Bâbâ*.

In the accompanying plate, 34, I have given small sketches of several of these curious aboriginal shrines of the deified

[1] See Plate 34, figure A.

ghosts. The essential part of the shrine is a paraboloidal knob or obelisk, which is always raised above the ground on a low platform, from 1 foot to 3 feet in height. Sometimes there are two or three platforms rising above one another; and, frequently, there are two or more of the obelisks placed in a row. Seven obelisks was a common number; but I have in a few instances seen 8, 10, and 11. Why more than one obelisk was set up I never was able to find out.

The sketch marked *B* shows a shrine of Kuăr Bîr, an Ahir, who was considered a *Barâ Deva*, or great deity. *C* is one of the numerous shrines of *Barchi*, or *Barsi*, Bîr, a very great deified ghost, reverenced in Shâhâbâd and Bihâr. In front of this shrine, in a straight line, there are ten pegs of wood driven into the ground. In front of *B* there are two small wooden posts. These are sometimes of stone. It was a long time before I could ascertain the purpose of these pegs. But, as I had repeatedly observed them, I continued my enquiries, until at last I learned that, as ghosts cannot touch the ground when they flit about at night, these pegs or posts are considerately placed near their shrines for them to rest upon when they get tired. The pegs, therefore, serve to distinguish a Bîr's, or ghost's shrine from one dedicated to Mahâmâi, or Bhainsasuri Devi, or Dulha Deva. In the Kasia hills, and in the Munda districts of Chutia Nâgpur, the people have for the same reason provided stone seats for the accommodation of the ghosts.[1] Pots of water are also provided in some places to quench the thirst of the ghosts.

The sketch marked *D* is the shrine of a Brahman who was killed by a cow.

E is a brick platform set up by some Kahârs, or bearers, and dedicated to Sanichara (a man's name), to whom a goat is sacrificed. *F* is a common shrine, without name, but the obelisk has become a large mound.

G is an earthen platform, 10 feet long, with three tiers or stages, surmounted by seven obelisks. It was said to be dedicated to all the Bîrs.

[1] See Yule in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 13, 618, and Dalton in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 42, 117. Both accounts are illustrated by plates.

H is one of the many shrines raised to Jagadambâ Devi or Mahâmai. It has seven knobs, but others that I have seer have generally only one or two: in one instance I found eight.

At Tanda in Oudh I saw the earthen tomb of a Kashmirian lady, who is said to have fled from Delhi with only one leg, and to have died here. Her ghost is worshipped, and pigs are offered, as well as flowers and the usual clay figures of horses. I was told that, only a few days before my visit, in January 1876, several hundreds of women came here in vehicles of various kinds to make their offerings at her shrine. Of the Kashmirian lady I could not get any actual information, but she was supposed to have been wounded at Delhi in one of the harams, and to have escaped as far as Tanda. One thing about her seems to be certain, that she could not have died a natural death; otherwise she would not have been worshipped by the people.

At the large village of Mahodha, to the east of Nâgpur, I found a stone Sati pillar, on which is sculptured the rude figure of a woman standing to the front. The stone is called Siddhan, and is said to represent the mother of Genda, a Teli. As Genda died long ago, and his sons also are now dead, the monument may be from 60 to 80 years old. When her husband died, the woman did not burn herself, but, being tired of life, she killed herself by jumping down from a tree. Hence, having died a violent death, she was reverenced as a Bîr, or spirit, and cocks, flowers, and turmeric are now offered to her by Telis and Mâlis.

At Murmâri, 12 miles to the east of Bhandâra and 50 miles from Nâgpur, there is the tomb of an English lady, the wife of Major Claye Watson, which is held in great reverence by all the people, chiefly by Telis, who form a large part of the agricultural population of the Central Provinces. Cocoanuts are offered at the tomb, and red lines are marked upon it with a mixture of turmeric and lime.

In Southern India Mr. Caldwell notices the shrine of Captain Pole, whose ghost is propitiated with offerings of spirits and tobacco. He relates that—

"Captain Pole, being mortally wounded, appears to have tried to

return across country to Madura, to obtain European medical assistance, but died on the way in South Tinnevelly in a palmyra forest The Shanârs of the district were terrified. They opened his "kit," and amongst other things found some brandy and cheroots. What was to be done? His manes, according to their belief, were now abroad in the neighbourhood, and must be duly propitiated. A grave was dug under the banyan I have referred to, a hut was hastily erected, and the services of a local devil-dancer were procured, and the ghost of the officer was duly worshipped. But he was a white man; what gift would be most pleasing to his soul? The brandy and cheroots, so, almost to this present day, has continued this extraordinary worship. Alcoholic liquor, in some form or other, and cheroots, have been periodically presented at the grave of Captain Pole, under that spreading tree and before that solitary but on the sandy waste, in order that the spirit of the departed soldier might refrain from wreaking vengeance on the simple rustics of the neighbourhood."

The *mantras*, or charms, which are always sung by men at the different shrines, are of two different kinds, which are known as *Ṣâbari mantras*, or "Ṣabara charms," and *Jâdu mantras*, or "mystical incantations." As the former were addressed to the *Bîrs*, or deified ghosts of the dead, the performance would of course be carried out in the cemetery, or *smasân*, where the corpse had been burned. Hence, the terms *masân* or cemetery, and *gor* or grave, came to be used as synonyms for the Bîr himself. In the imaginations of the people the cemetery was thronged with formidable "*Bhûtas* and *Betâlas*, joyfully engaged in their horrible activity, * * so that it seemed like a second mysterious tremendous form of Bhairava."[1] I have quoted this paragraph to show the connection between the Bîrs and ghosts of the dead and Bhairava, the terrible form of Siva. In many of the mantras Bhairava is directly addressed, and there is one mantra especially addressed to the company of Bhairavas (*Bheronka zanzira*).

As the mantras have been preserved orally, they have, of course, been subject to various alterations in the lapse of time. Many of the *Jâdu mantras* are easily procurable; but the

[1] Katha Sarit Sagara, 233, Tawney's Translation.

pure unmixed *Sâvari mantras* are very difficult to be obtained, partly from their present garbled state, and partly from the reluctance of the people to speak about them. Some of them are probably vey old, but many of their words must have been altered and even changed altogether; while Muhammadan names and titles have been added to several.

The following are a few selected specimens of the mantras taken from more than double the number that I have collected from many different places. Some of them are distinctly addressed to Bîrs, and are said to be true Sabari mantras, such are *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D*, which are addressed respectively to Agiya-Bîr, Ajay Pâl Bhairava, and Hanumân.

The five mantras which follow, marked E, F, G, H, and J, are genuine *Jâdu mantras*, or "mystical incantations" for the purpose of compelling spirits to appear and receive the orders of the performer. The first, marked E, seems to be on old Hindu charms without any foreign admixture, except in the title, which has been modernised. But the other three clearly belong to the Muhammadan period of Indian history.

A.—Mantra Agiya Betál ko.

Aum! namo Agiya Bir Betál!
Bethè Sátame Pátál,
Lawe agan ki jhál,
Bethe Brahmá ke kapál!
Machhli, chilha-kâ ghaliz, gugal, hartál,
Itni bast le chalè Na lèchale,
To mâtâ Kálikâ ki án.

Hail! Glory to the demon Agiya Bîr!
Down in the seventh hell,
Mid flames of fire,
Sitting on Brahma's head!
With fish, and dung of kites we come,
With yellow arsenic, and gum,
All these we bring—If ye come not,
May mother Kâli curse you!

Agya Betâl is the "Demon of Fire," as his name implies. The coupling of the two terms "Bir" and "Betâl" perhaps,

only shows that they are identical in meaning. *Gugal* is bdellium, a fragrant gum, which is much used in carrying out any of these mantras. The other offerings do not seem very inviting, but they are at least as presentable as "eye of newt and toe of frog."

B.—Mantra Aje-Pâl ka.

Aum! namo Dhâra-nagari Aje-Pâl!
Ajê Pâl Râja ki sât Râni,
Kâli, Dhûri, Lili,
Puri, Thâk, Nir, Thili.
Rokhâ Bîr kâ Bâgh-bagicha, kuwâ-baryâ
Bihtar-bâhar, bale-bale,
Kachû sâ kachu bhay kare,
To Raja Aje-Pâl ka chakr phire.

Hail to Ajay Pâl of Dhâr!
And to the Raja's seven queens,
Kâli, Bhûri, Lili,
Puri, Thâk, Nir, Thili!
In the garden of Rokhâ Bîr, 'mid wells and tanks
Both in and out, with fires about,
There is no fear,
Within the circle of Ajay Pâl.

The "garden of Rokha Bîr" appears to be a name for the cemetery, or burning ground, with its fires.[1] It was in a cemetery, "awful with the ghastly flames from the burning of the funeral pyres," that the mendicant Kshântisila received king Vikramâditya, the hero of the twenty-five tales of a demon (Betâl Pachisi). Rokha or Roshâ Bîr, the "angry ghost," is, I believe, derived from one of the many names of Bhairava, one of the terrible forms of Siva as god of the dead.

C.—Mantra Bhairon ka.

Aum! namo Gur Gure!
Tu Gur Tâmra Masân!
Khel Karantâ ja usko dekh pâs,

[1] Early in this century the British burial-ground was called the "Pâdre's Godown."

Wuh rakhè hamâri âs—
Kasam ko dekh,
Jale bale ham ko dekh—
Hansi kare, chal-châl re, Kâlikaput.
Soti hoï, Jagâ lâve;—
Bethi hoï—utha lâve;
Na lâve,
To mâtâ Kâlikâ ki sej paon dhare!

Hail! Glory to the Gor Guru!
Thou art the Guru Tâmrâ Masân!
With pleasant manner go and see
Her who's all the world to me.
See and swear, O son of Kâli,
That for her I'm always yearning—
If she sleepeth, rouse her up,
If she sitteth, raise her up.
If you bring her not,
May you put your foot on the bed of your mother Kâlika!

This charm must be carried out on a Sunday in the *Masân*, or cemetery, where dead bodies are burned, with one *aisa* weight of brown sugar and some oil. The charm is addressed to *Tâmra*, the reddish brown or copper-coloured *Bhairava*, one of the forms of Siva. Bhairava is popularly looked upon as the son of Siva, and is, therefore, called *Kâli-ka-put*, or "Kâli's son." The terms *Gor* and *Masân* are here used as synonymous with Bîr.

D.—Ckauki Hanumat Bîr ki.

Aum! Hanumân!
Baras bârah ka jawân!
Hâth men Laddu,
Mukh men Pân,
Hûk mâr ao,
Bâbâ Hanumân!

Hail to Hanumân!
An urchin twelve years old,
With sweetmeats in his hand,
And in his mouth a Pân.
Hooting come,
Bâbâ Hanumân!

This charm must be begun on the first Tuesday of a month, fasting and wearing red clothes. Red lead, mixed with oil, should be put on the image of Hanumân, and a lamp should be placed in front, with some lighted *gugal* gum, or incense. A large wheaten cake, covered with *ghi* and coarse sugar, should be offered to the image, and the mantra recited eleven hundred times daily, counting the heads of a coral necklace. On the fortieth day the Bîr Hanumân will appear before the charmer and take his orders.

E.—Hâzrât Jinnon aur Pariyon ki.
Târâ-tûri-swâhâ.
To raise a spirit or fairy.

When a new moon falls on a Thursday, prepare some rice and milk to eat, and select a solitary clean house for the performance. Bring some sweet-smelling flowers, some sweetmeats, some incense-yielding gum (gûgal-dhûp), and the scented root *agar*. Draw a circle with a red lead, and put in it 8 cloves, 8 betelnuts, and a new lamp lighted with *ghi*. Next, put all the sweetmeats and flowers inside the circle, and, then first pronouncing the *Raksha Kavach,* or prayer for safety,[1] begin reciting the mantra, which is to be repeated five thousand times a day for several sucessive days. The performer must change the flowers and sweetmeats daily, but not the lamp. He must wear coloured clothes and keep himself pure and clean. The spirit or fairy will then appear to receive the charmer's orders.

F.—Bheron ki zanzir.

Lâ ilâh ililla Hazrat Bîr!
Kausallah Kausalla Bîr!
Azam zer khalkar madîn
Teri zanzir sè kon kon chale.
Bâman to Bhairon chale,
Chaonsat to Jogini chale,
Deva chale, Dâna chale,
Chaliyan to bîshesh chale;
Tâirya Sâlâr chale,

[1] I have failed to get the words of the *Raksha Kavach.* I only know that it is very generally repeated by Brahmans the first thing every morning.

Bhim-gadá chale,
Hanumán ki hak chale,
Náhar Singh ki dhak chale;
Nahin to
Sulimán ke takht ki duhaï!
Ek lákh asi hazár Pegambarki duhai!

"The chain of Bhairavas."

There is no god but Hazrat Bír!
The fortunate Kausalla Bir!
Who will form your company?
Come ye two and fifty Bherons,
Come ye Joginis sixty-four,
Come ye Gods, and come ye Demons,
Come in countless numbers, come!
Come Tariya Sálár,
Come mace-bearing Bhim,
Come hooting Hanumán,
Come thou terrible man-lion,—
Come ye not?
I appeal to the throne of Solomon,
And the hundred and eighty thousand prophets.

This mantra must be performed when the new moon fall on a Thursday, with a *ghi* lamp and incense (*lobán*) burning the charmer offers some dried fruits, and begins reciting th mantra twenty-one thousand times.

By reciting it only twenty-one times, it is considered very efficacious cure for sick people.

G.—Chauki Múthi Bír ki.

Bismillah, arrahmán, ar rahim!
Son chakr ki bávari, gol Muttian ká Hár,
Lanká sá kot, Samudar si khái,
Jahán phire, Muhammadá Bir ki duhái.

Kon kon Bír agè chale?
Sultán Bír chale, Duráni Bir chale,
Ladar Shah Bír chale Bahádur Shah Bir chale
Muthi chale——Nahin chale.
To Hazrat Sulimán ki duhái.

Bismillah, arrahmân, arrahîm!
With a golden chain and garland of pearls
In the Lanka-like fort, and the ditch-like sea.
I appeal to Muhammadâ Bîr!
With whom come other Bîrs.
Sultân Bîr come, Durâni Bîr come,
Ladar Shah Bîr come, Bahâdur Shâh Bîr come,
Muthi come,
Come ye not. I appeal to Hazrat Sulimân.

This charm should be begun when the new moon falls on a Thursday. It must be continued for 40 days, the words being repeated one hundred times daily. When the charm is finished, the Bîr will present himself to obey the charmer's behest. The whole is clearly the work of a Muhammadan, and is probably quite modern. It shows how thorough the magic art has been adopted by the Musalmans.

H.—Chauki Muhammadá Bír.

Bismillah, ar-rahman, ar-rahim!
Pay ghúngrá koṭ zanzir,
Jispar khele Muhammadá Bír,
Savá ser ka tosá kháí,
Savá man ki kamán, savá manka tír,
Jispar khetá áwe Muhammadá Bír.
Már! Már! kartá awe,
Bándh! Bándh kartá awe,
Dankini ko bandh! Sankhini ko bándh,
Churail ko bándh, Bhút ko bándh, Palít ko bandh,
Nall Narsingh bándh,
Báwan Bheron bándh,
Nau ját ka Masán bándh,

Kachiyá Masán bándh, Pakkáyá Masán bandh,
Kalkaliya Masán bándh,
Mungiya Masán bándh, Piliyá Masán bándh,
Liliya Masán bándh, Sukiya Masán bándh,
Dhauliya Masán bándh, Kaliyá Masán bándh, bándh, bándh
Kuá Baoli loo bándh, Suti bándh, bethi bándh,
Pítè ko bándh, pakátè ko bándh, lao, lao—
Soti ko lao, pakáti ko lao, lao, lao—
Jaldi lao.

Hazrat Imám Hussen ki jáng se nikál kar lao,
Bibi Phatimá ke dáman se khulá ke lao,
Nahin lawe?
To Máta chúka dudh harám kare!
Duhai Sulimán Auliya ke takht ki!

Bismillah, ar-rahmân, ar-rahim!
With chains of bells upon his feet,
Dances Muhammadâ Bîr.
After a hearty breakfast,
With a ninety-pounder bow, and a ninety-pounder arrow,
Sports Muhammadâ Bîr,
Shouting beat!—beat! he comes!
Bind she-demon, bind she-devil!
Bind the witch, the ghost, the spirit!
Bind the nine man-lions,
Bind the two and fifty Bherons,
Bind the nine different kinds of ghosts!
Bind *weak* and *strong* and *quarrelsome*,
Bind the *Red* and bind the *Yellow*,
Bind the *Blue*, and bind the *Green*.
Bind the *White*, and bind the *Black*, bind, bind, bind!
Close their wells and springs of water,
Stop their sleeping, stop their sitting,
Stop their drinking, stop their eating, stop, stop,
Stop their sleeping, stop their cooking, stop, stop.
Quickly stop.
From the thigh of Imâm Husen draw near!
From lady Fatimá's foot appear.
Stay them not—
May the milk of the mother's breast be forbidden!
I appeal to the Throne of Suliman!

This tremendous incantation must be begun on an evening when the new moon falls on a Thursday. First, place a *ghi* lamp in front and burn some incense (*lobân*), and repeat the charm 108 times, at the same time making an offering of sweets. The charm must be repeated for 31 succeeding Thursdays, which will compel the Bîr, or spirit, to appear and obey the orders of the charmer. The mention of nine different kinds of ghosts (*Masân*) is curious. Nine different names are given, of which the last six are cloves,

Mungiya being "coral" or red, and *Sukiya* being "parrot" or green colour.

J.—Git Jakhaiya ka.

Jaise bulai, waise ai, re!
Jakhaiya bhaiya, jaisè bulai, waise ai, re!
1.—Phul, batásé, dhujá, nâriyal, ghenta, bhet ko lai, re,
Jakhaiya bhaiya, &c.
2.—Bakra, Múrga, Range-binolé, chakka, bhet kolai re,
Jakhaiya bhaiya, &c.
3.—Paisá, dhar, pujápá, leke, nange pairon dhai, re,
Jakhaiya bhaiya, &c.
4.—Bál-bachhon pé rachha kijo teri phire duhai, re,
Jakhaiya bhaiya, &c.

Song to the Jakhaiyas (Yakshas).

As we call, one and all,
Brother Jakhs, attend our call.
1.—Flowers, sweetmeats, cocoanuts we bring,
With flags, and pigs as our offering.
As we call, &c.
2.—See goats and fowls and black cotton seed,
With cowrees six before you spread:—
As we call, &c.
3.—Money and wine, with our bare feet,
And every thing for worship meet;
As we call, &c.
4.—Preserve our children safe and sound,
Our prayer is as we circle round—
As we call, one and all,
Brother Jakhs attend our call.

After making the presents described, this song is sung by the men to conciliate the Jakhaiyas, or Yakshas, for the safety of their children. As it is not addressed to a Bîr, I have not placed it with the *Sábari* mantras. I think it must be an old Hindi song, as there is no trace of Mahammadanism in it.

That the worship itself is of great antiquity there is no doubt, as I have found an instance of it preserved by Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius, during his residence in the northern Panjâb. As I have not the means of referring to the

original Greek, I can only quote the account as given in the English version of Berwick—[1]

"In the midst of this conversation a messenger arrived, introducing to the sages some Indians who implored their assistance. Among them was a woman who came to intercede for her son, a youth about sixteen years of age, who for the last two years was *possessed of a lying wicked demon.* One of the sages asked on what grounds she said this? Because, replied she, a demon has fallen in love with him for his beauty, who suffers him not to enjoy any freedom of will, not to go to school, nor shoot his bow, nor even stay at home, but drags him abroad into lonely and desert places. Besides, said she, he no longer retains his natural voice, but speaks like a man, and sees objects with eyes very different from his own. This is the cause why I weep and tear my bosom, and endeavour all I can to have him restored to his right mind, but alas! he knows me not. At the same time I must tell you that when once I had made up my mind to come to you, which is now more than a year, the demon confessed by the mouth of my boy, as his interpreter, who he was. He owned himself to be the *ghost of a man who had fallen long ago in battle,* and who had been extremely fond of his wife: but that when he understood she had violated his marriage bed, and wedded another man only three days after his death, his love for the sex turned to hatred, and all his affections passed to this boy. At last the demon promised, on the conditions of my making no complaint to you, that he would do my son much good. I suffered myself to be tempted by his promises; but he has now long deceived me, and has got possession of my house, which he keeps without one sentiment of truth or honour. Here, one of the sages asked if the boy was at hand. His mother said he was not, for the demon did all he could to prevent his coming: for precipices and antres dire, and death itself, were held out by way of threats, should I bring this matter before your tribunal. 'Take courage, woman,' said the wise man, for 'as soon as he has read this letter, he will harm you not,' and with these words, he took one from his bosom, and gave it to the woman, which was written to the spectre, containing many things, enough, not only to alarm, but terrify him."

Of all the deified ghosts the most extensively worshipped are Guga Chauhân, Harshu Bâbâ, and Hardaur Lâla. The first and last were Râjputs, and the second was a Brahman.

[1] Lifeof Apollonius—translated by Rev. E. Berwick. B. III. C. 38 page 169.

Guga fell in battle; Harsha perished while sitting in *dharna*, and Hardaur was poisoned by his brother.

The story of Guga Chauhân has already been given in my account of *Sirsâwa*, or *Sirsa-patan*, near the Jumna[1] with two specimens of the songs, which are still sung in his honour. He is reverenced equally by Hindus and Muhammadans. According to the latter, when Guga grew up, his two cousins, Arjun and Surjan, the sons of Kâchal, his mother's sister, demanded a share of the kingdom, and attacked him with the assistance of the Raja of Delhi. But Guga defeated them, and cut off their heads, which he took to Bâgar-des and presented to his mother. Then Bâchal, his mother, was angry, and in her haste she bade her son go to the place to which he had sent her sister's sons. So, Guga departed, and, putting his face to the ground, besought the earth to receive him into her bosom. But the goddess refused, and told him that the earth would not open to receive him until he had become a Muhammadan. Then Guga went to Mekka and became a disciple of Ratan Hâji, and, on his return, the earth opened, and received him into her bosom, sitting on his black mare Jâvâdia. After this disappearance it is said that Guga used every night to visit his wife Siriâl, and that she prepared for his reception by dressing herself in her best array and finest ornaments, much to the displeasure of her mother-in-law, Bâchal.

This is the Muhammadan version of Guga's end, from which he received his title of Zâhir-Pîr, or the "manifested saint," because he appeared to his wife after death. But, according to the Hindu account, he was killed in battle with the Muhammadans in one of Mahmud's invasions, and, as every man who dies a violent death is worshipped as a Bîr, or demon, so Bâchal's son was made into Guga Bîr amongst the Hindus, which, by a trifling change, became Guga Pîr amongst the Muhammadans. The belief in his re-appearance was equally strong amongst the Hindus, but it took quite another form, for, instead of showing himself to his wife nightly, he

[1] Archæological Survey, Vol. XIV, p. 80.

burst suddenly forth from a rock fully armed and mounted upo[n] his favourite horse Jâvâdia. It is in this form that he is re-presented in the colossal statue cut out of the solid rock at th[e] ancient capital of Mandor near Jodhpur in Rajputâna.

The shrine of *Harshu Brahman* or *Harshu Bâbâ* is a[t] Chayanpur, near Sahsarâm. His worship is now spreading al[l] over Northern India, and promises to become as extensively diffused as that of *Hardaur Lâla*. *Harshu Deva* or *Harshu Bâbâ*, was a Kanaujiya Brahman, and the purohit of Raja Sâlivâhan of Chayanpur, near Sahsarâm. He held thirty-three villages in *Jâgir*, and lived at Jamüa, 5 miles to the north of Chayanpur. The cause of his death was starvation from sitting in *dharna*, to extort the restitution of his villages, which had been taken away. As the story of Harshu illustrates one of the curious customs peculiar to India, I will give it just as I heard it at Chayanpur.

Raja Sâlivâhan of Chayanpur having married a second wife (a Bhâgelni of the Rewa family), his first wife suspected that her husband had been influenced by his purohit, and determined to ruin him. It so happened that Harshu at this time began to exhibit a light raised on a pole on the top of his house at Jamüa, which could be seen at Chayanpur. The elder Râni insinuated to the Raja that this exhibition was part of an ambitious project to oust him from his kingdom, and the credulous man was so worked upon by his wife that he at last resumed possession of the thirty-three villages held by his purohit. On this the enraged Brahman at once sat down in *dharna* before the Raja's palace, determined to starve himself for a month, unless his *Jâgir* was restored. His *dharna* is said to have begun on 4th *Mâgh Badi*, in Samvat 1484, or A.D. 1427, and his death to have followed 21 days afterwards on the 15th *Mâgh Sudi*. As the period which he had prescribed to himself had not been completed, his guru proceeded to Chayanpur and called up the ghost or spirit of Harshu to finish the 31 days required. Ever since then his ghost has been worshipped by the people of Chayanpur, and *Hom* is offered daily by the ministering Brahman for the benefit of all classes.

The story of Harshu is continued after his death, as the people all assert that his ghost, burning for revenge, proceeded to Delhi, and prevailed on the king to send a Muhammadan army to expel the Raja from Chayanpur. The Raja resisted and was killed, and the whole of his family were exterminated with the single exception of one female. Buchanan was informed that the survivor was one of the Raja's daughters; but the people of the present day deny this, and say that the only person who escaped was the second wife of the Raja. After Harshu's death this queen went back to her father's house at Rewa, where she gave birth to two sons.

In the meantime one of the aboriginal *Cheru* chiefs took possession of Chayanpur. After some years the Rani's eldest son came to Chayanpur, where he was employed by the Cheru chief as a horse soldier. But the story of his birth being discovered, the Cheru Raja placed the young prince on the throne, and gave up his own rights, simply reserving to his family the privilege of placing the *tika* mark on the forehead of each new Raja. This privilege the descendant of the Cheru chief still claims. The Raja's family is Rajput of the Sikrwâr clan, and the present head Surajbhân Sah claims to be eleventh in descent from the unfortunate Raja Sâlivâhan. This claim seems to offer a fair means of testing the accuracy of the date assigned to Harshu's death, which is placed in Samvat 1484, or A.D. 1427. Now, the present chief succeeded shortly before the mutiny in 1857, so that his ten predecessors must have reigned 1427—1857=430 years, or just 43 years each, which is quite impossible. But, if we take the date to be *Sake* 1484, or A.D. 1562, then the period of each generation will be somewhat less than 30 years. Thus, 1562—1857=295 years, which divided by 10, gives exactly 29½ years for each intervening life. This will place the death of Harshu in the early part of Akbar's reign.

I received a visit from the present ministering priest, a Kanojiya Brahman named Kâlicharan, who is the grandson of the priest whom Buchanan saw between 1807 and 1814 A.D. I enquired if any of Harshu's descendants were still living, and whether any of them dwelt in Chayanpur. I was not surprised

to learn that, though the descendants of Harshu were rather numerous, there was not one living in Chayanpur, and that even when obliged by business to come to Chayanpur, they always abstained from food during the visit. A case of this kind occurred within Kâlicharan's own knowledge.

The fame of Harshu has now extended over a large portion of Northern India, and people from all parts flock to his shrine. All who have been long ill, all who fancy themselves bewitched, all who have disputes about land, come to consult the ghost of Harshu. His ministering priest accepts the offerings and gives the decisions of Harshu's ghost the next morning, which he professes to have received in dreams during the night. The number of pilgrims or visitors has rapidly increased during the few past years, as testified by Kâlicharan himself, as well as by numerous witnesses from different parts of India. On the day of my visit to Chayanpur, about twenty-five pilgrims presented themselves in the morning, and some ten more during the course of the day. The people were from all parts of Northern India, including Delhi and Benares. The name of Harshu is well known in both of these places, and at the former place it is said that a small shrine has been erected outside the northern gate of the city. Some pilgrims have even come from Vizianagram; but I have a suspicion that they must have heard of the famous healing powers of Harshu's ghost from some of the followers of the late Raja of Vizianagram, who resided for the greater part of every year in Benares.

The story of Hardol Lâla is another illustration of the great powers which are believed to be possessed by the ghost of any person who has come to an untimely end. Hardol Lâla, or Diwân Hardaur, was the second son of Bîr Singh Deo, the miscreant Raja of Urcha, who assassinated Abul Fazl at the instigation of Jahângir. Bîr Singh's eldest son, Jhujhâr Singh, succeeded to the throne, and, becoming jealous of his younger brother, Hardol Lâla, caused him to be poisoned. The poison is said to have been given by one of Jhujhâr's wives during his campaign against Garha. The murder created much sensation, and shrines were erected to propitiate his ghost at many places

between the Jumna and the Narbada, wherever the sway of the Dânji Rajputs had been extended by Bîr Singh Deo and Jhujhâr. Now, his name has been carried over the whole of Northern India; and there is no place where his name is unknown. Songs also are sung in his honour, which repeat his wide-spread fame—

Gâman Chaontra, Lâla, desan nâm,
Bundela des ke Raiya Rau ke,
Tumhâri Jay rakhe Bhagwân.

Lâla, your shrine's in every place,
In every land your name,
O lord of the Bundela race,
May God increase your fame!

Previous to 1817 his worship had been confined to a few people in Bundelkhand. But when the cholera first appeared in Lord Hastings's army during the Pindâri war, the camp happened to be pitched at Chândpur Sonâri on the Sindh, near a grove of trees, beneath whose shade lie the ashes of Hardol Lâla under a small shrine. The ghost of the murdered prince is said to have been especially incensed by the slaughter of a cow for beef, and from that time the cholera spread all over India. Then temples were everywhere erected and offerings made to appease him; and in less than six years Sir William Sleeman's native informant saw a shrine, dedicated to him, "in Lahore, and in almost every village throughout the whole course of his journey to that distant capital and back."[1]

The following is a rough translation of a song which was taken down from the dictation of a woman at Bagrod in Mâlwa. I give it here to show how deeply spread is the belief of the people in the guilt of Hardaur's brother Jhujhâr Singh.

[1] Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official.

Song to Hardaur Lála.

The Raja to his wife . .	1	Put poison in the pot, put it in the dâl and rice, and put it in the cow's milk.
Wife replies .	2	Don't do so, husband, you will repent killing your brother.
Raja . .	3	There is no enemy in the world like a brother.
Wife . .	4	Don't do so, husband; you will never get such another brother.
Raja . .	5	If you will not do it, I will kill you first.
The wife sees Hardaur[1] .	6	The Bhoji stands at the door, and sees a grey horse, and a handsome rider.
	7	She is lucky in seeing you, now Lâla; hereafter she will see you only in dreams.
	8	Let the horse go into his stable; the hot water is ready for the bath.
Hardaur goes to the bath .	9	Having put on a silken *dhoti*, with hands joined towards the sun—
And addresses the Sun . .	10	"O sun! thou art the greatest of gods; there is no one equal to thee!"
	11	Placing a seat of sandal wood, and the food on plates of gold,
	12	The *ghi* was put in a silver cup, the milk in a vessel of gold,
Hardaur addresses Bhoji .	13	"Bhoji, why do you look so sad? Now tell me the reason why."
	14	When Lâla took the food in his hand, his sister-in-law seized his hand.
Hardaur addresses Bhoji .	15	"Bhoji, tell me the reason why—whether I am to live or die."
		"It is my brother's treachery."
Bhoji replies .	16	"Twere better that we should have lived together. The world will give us a bad name."
Hardaur speaks .	17	"If my brother wished for my death, why did he not let me die in battle?"
Hardaur eats .	18	At the first mouthful the prince felt head-ache.

[1] Bhoji is the name of an elder brother's wife.

Song to Hardaur Lála.—contd.

	19	At the second he had fever.
	20	At the third his tongue became hard as wood.
Hardaur addresses Bhoji .	21	"Bhoji! spread the bed—worldly love still clings to me—give me some water to drink.
		(Female gardener enters with flowers.)
Mâlin speaks .	22	"I pray the prince will accept these flowers."
Hardaur speaks .	23	"What want I now with flowers? Let her put them on my grave."
		(A slave enters.)
Slave speaks .	24	The slave with reverence offers a *Datton.*
Hardaur speaks .	25	"I want nothing now—I go to sleep in the grave."
	26	Churâman and the slave both died.
		Both the horse and the dog died.
	27	The gardener and the carpenter died.
		The whole party died with their prince.

The shrines dedicated to Hardaur Lâla do not differ from those that are set up in honour of less famous ghosts, except in having a stone figure of the departed spirit, always represented on horseback as a Râjput, set up at the head or west side of the platform. Sometimes these are inscribed, and even dated, as I found one at Bâmor, near Gwalior, with the date of Samvat 1836, or A.D. 1779. This date shows that Hardol's ghost was worshipped in the Gwalior district at least 38 years before the cholera broke out in the British camp and made him famous.

The songs which are sung by the men, being unaccompanied with sacrifices of fowls, or with mystical incantations, cannot properly be called *mantras*, and are designated by the people themselves simply as *git*, or "songs." Some offerings, of course, are always made, such as fruit, flowers, and cakes. One of these songs I have already published in my account of Guga Chauhan, who is addressed as Zâhir Pîr.[1] The

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. XIV, p. 80.

following song, addressed to Dulha Deva, the bridal god, is one of the most common of these popular songs :—

To Dulha Deva.

Pâpar belon beliye, Mâre paihen jhakol
Gûja to daûr gâthye, Laddu mukh nasamai
Pheni karhen nopuri, Khâja Khûni kese phul
Ae Dulha Deva pahuue, kahâ rachan jonâr?

Here's *Pâpar* rolled out, thin and broad,
And *Gûja* puffs, and *Laddu* balls too big for mouth.
With *Pheni* fresh, and *Khâjâ* like the Khuni flower;
O Dulha Deva, our guest, what shall we make for your eating?

Pâpar is a cake rolled out very thin and dipped in *ghi*. *Gûja* is a kind of puff, or thin paste doubled, with dried fruit inside, with the edges frequently ornamented. *Laddu* is the common sweetmeat. *Pheni* is flour, mixed with curds; white like foam (*phen*). *Khâjâ* is a large thin cake, sweetened with sugar.

At every marriage Dulha Deva is worshipped. The bridal procession goes to his shrine, an earthen platform under a tree, and presents the offerings of food mentioned in the song, as well as a small pair of red leather shoes, a fan-like armament called *mor*, made of palm leaf ends, and a small *hindol*, or swing. A wooden peg, or *toran*, is then set up by every one of the bridal party, and the ceremony is finished.[1] The shoe shown in the Plate is just half of the size of the actual shoes presented. *Mor* means a peacock, but in this case I suppose it must mean the peacock's expanded tail. The shoes have reference to the custom of the bride presenting a pair of cloth shoes to the bridegroom to be worn at the wedding. The worship of Dulha Deva is said to have originated with the sudden death of a bridegroom on his wedding day, when he and his horse were both turned into stone.

[1] See Plate XXXIV for sketches of all these offerings.

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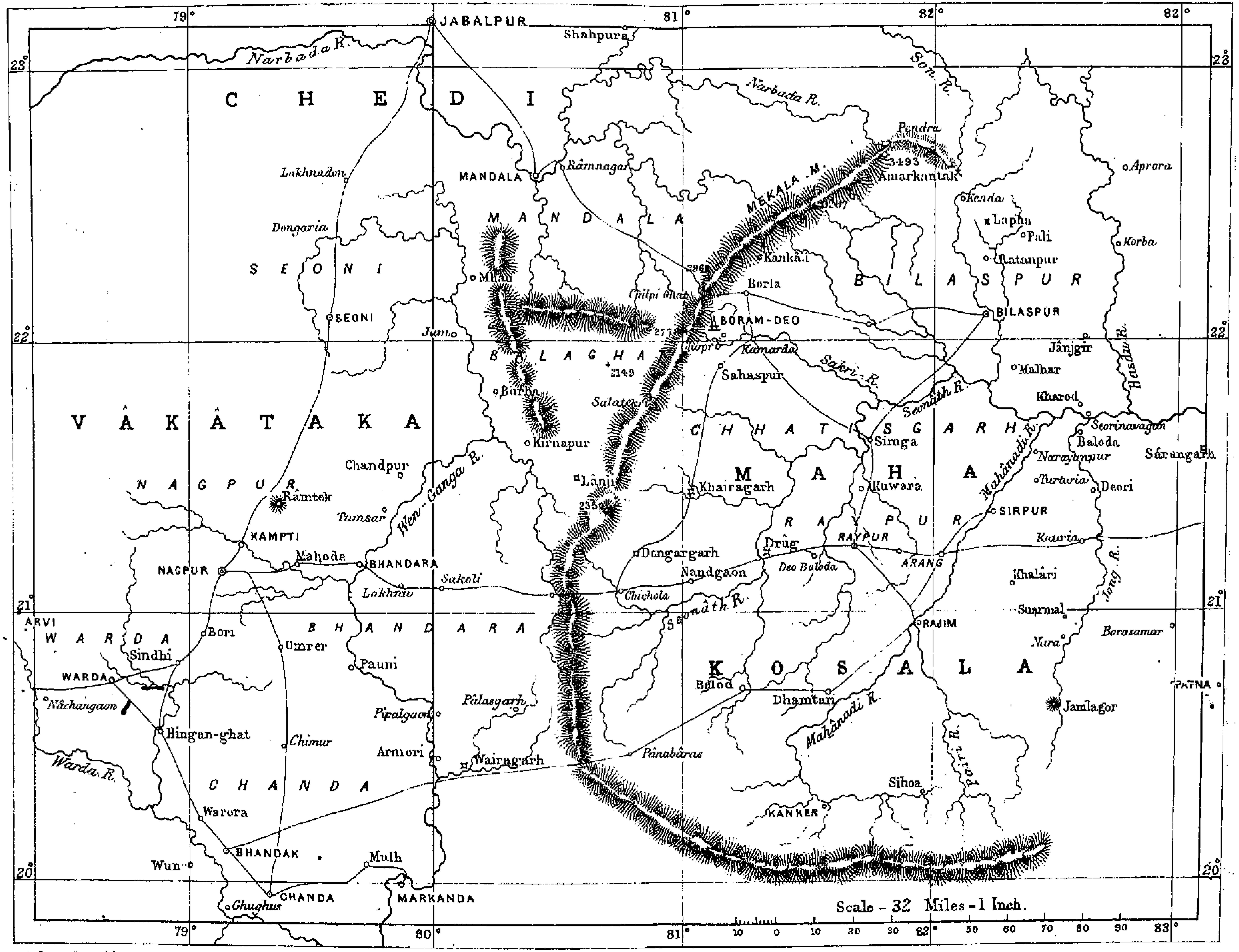

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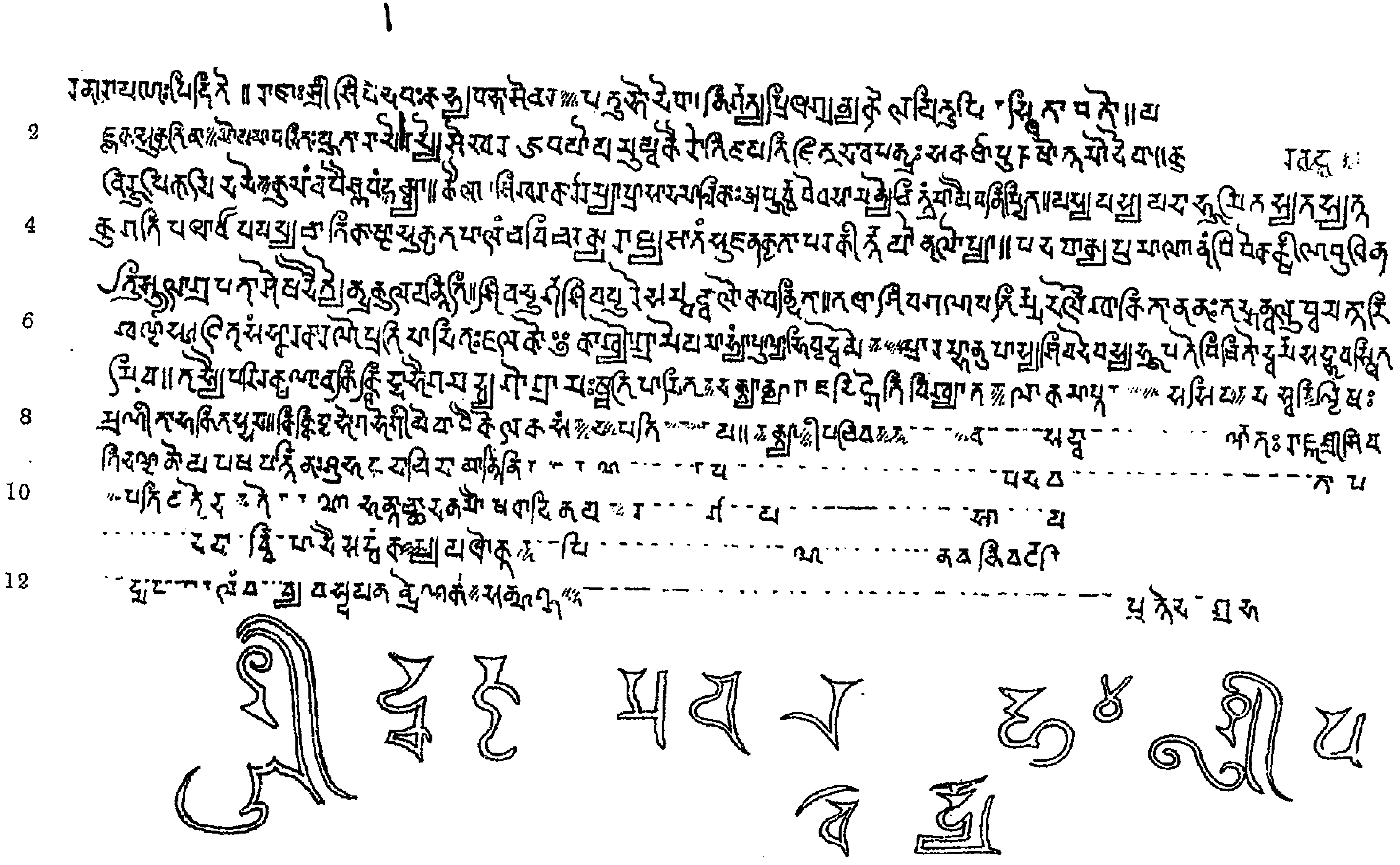

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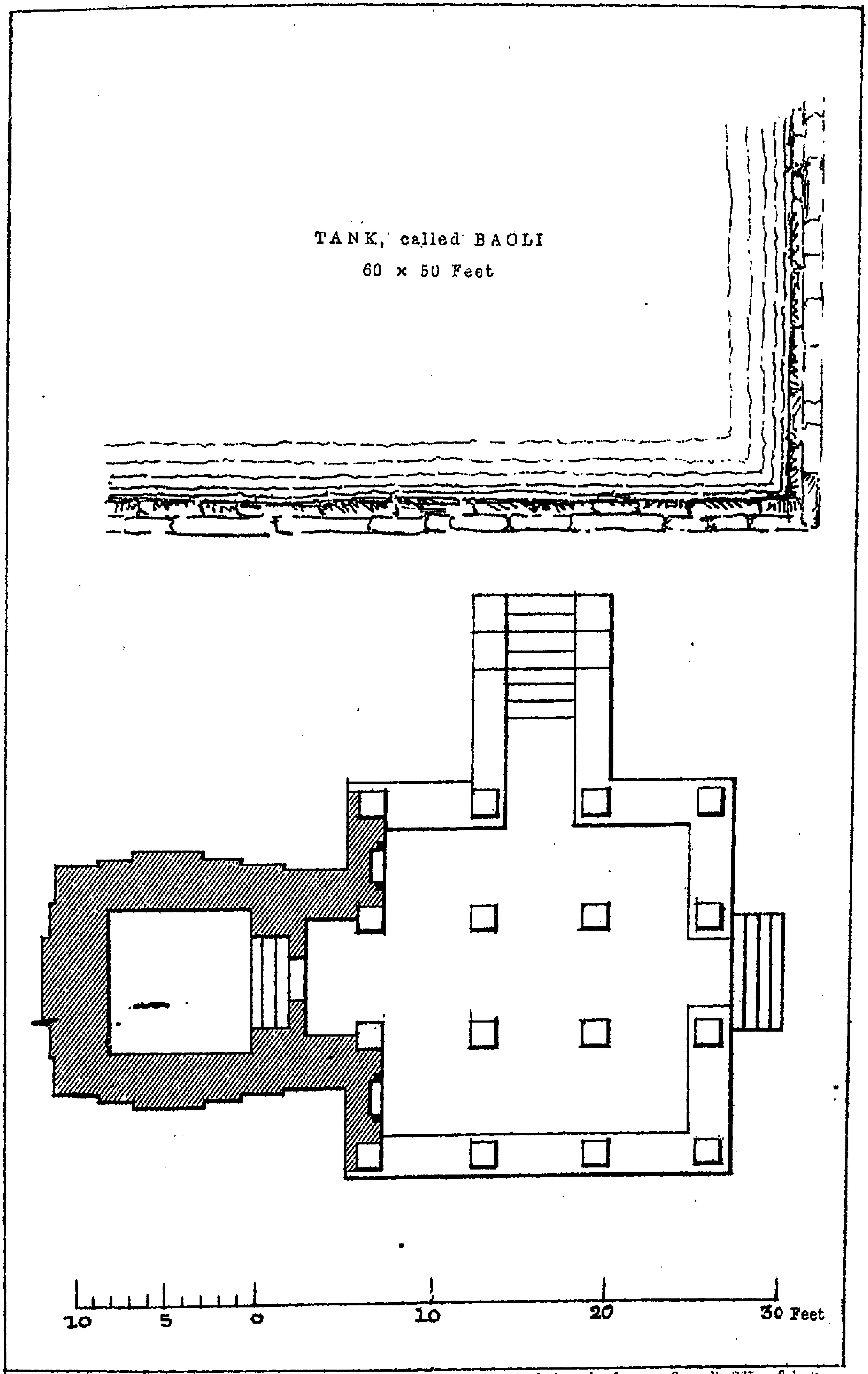

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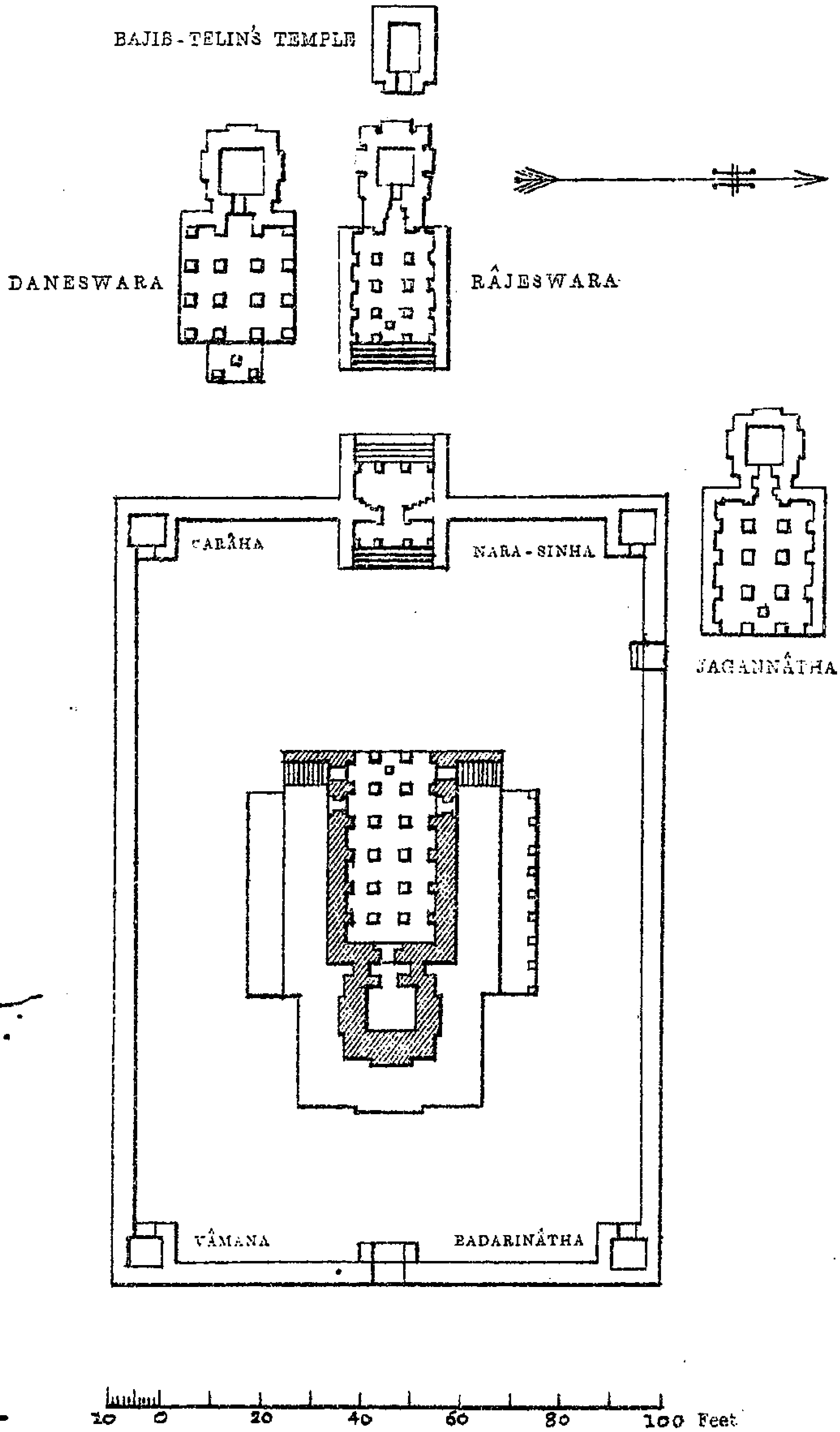

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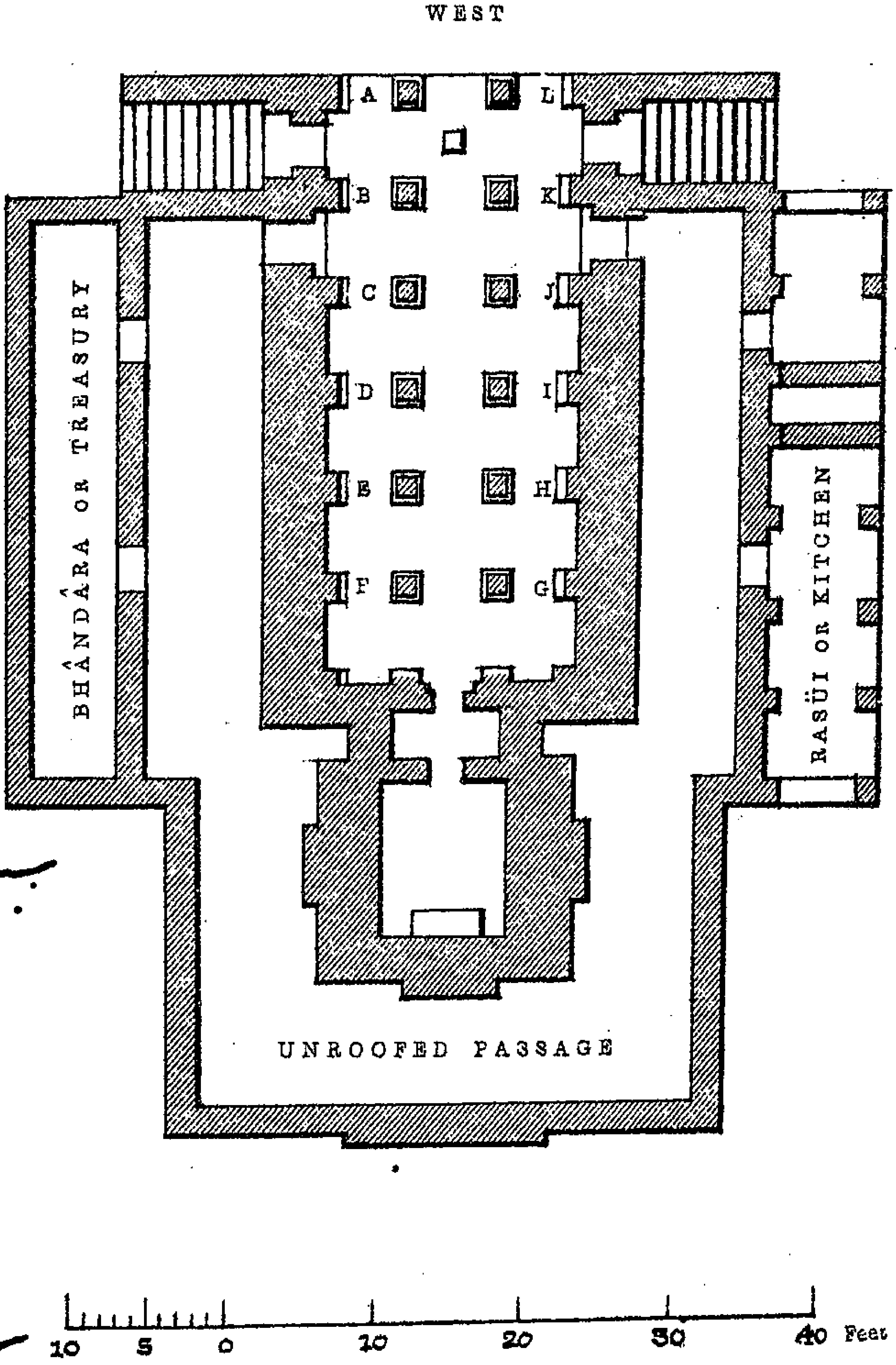

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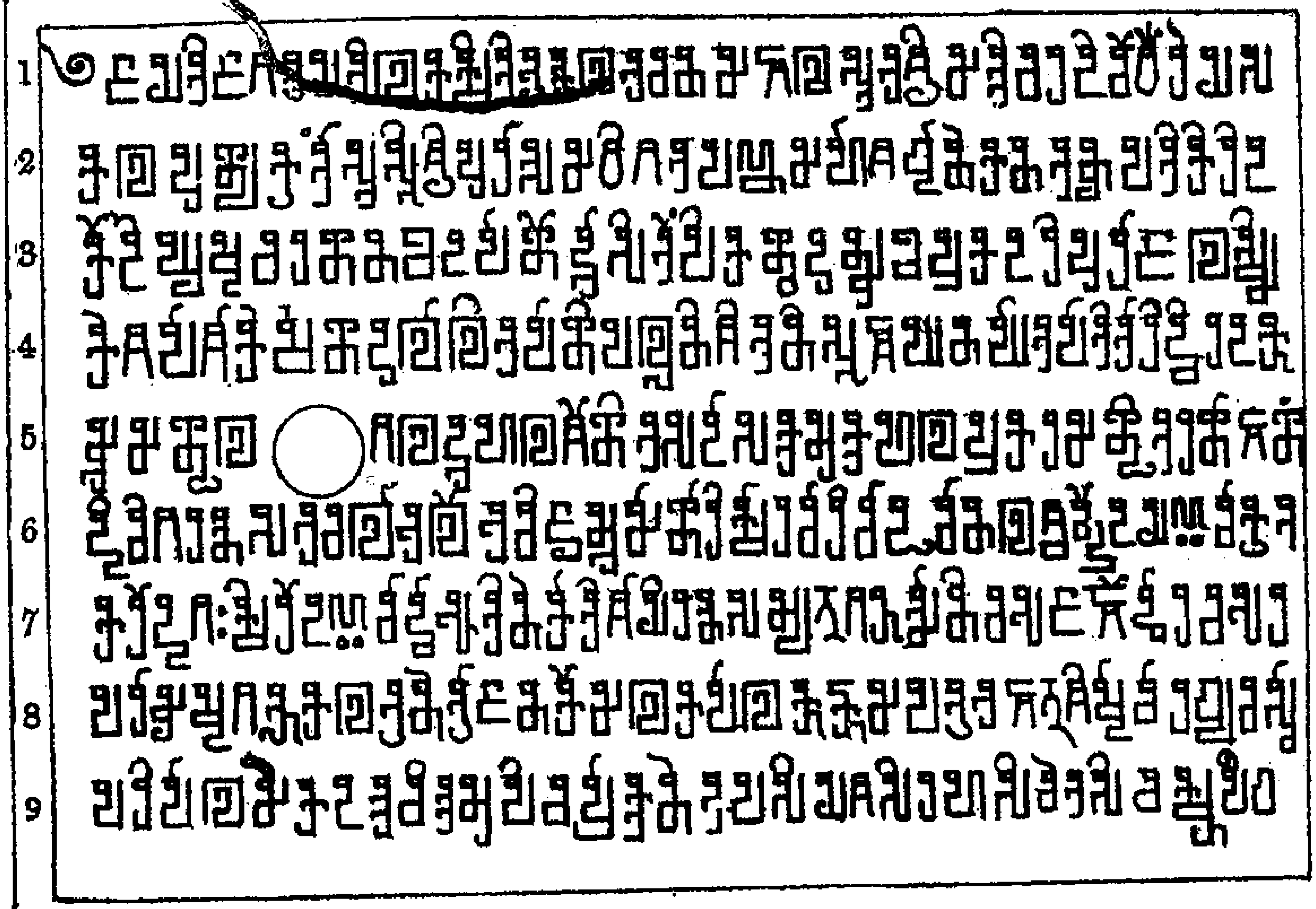

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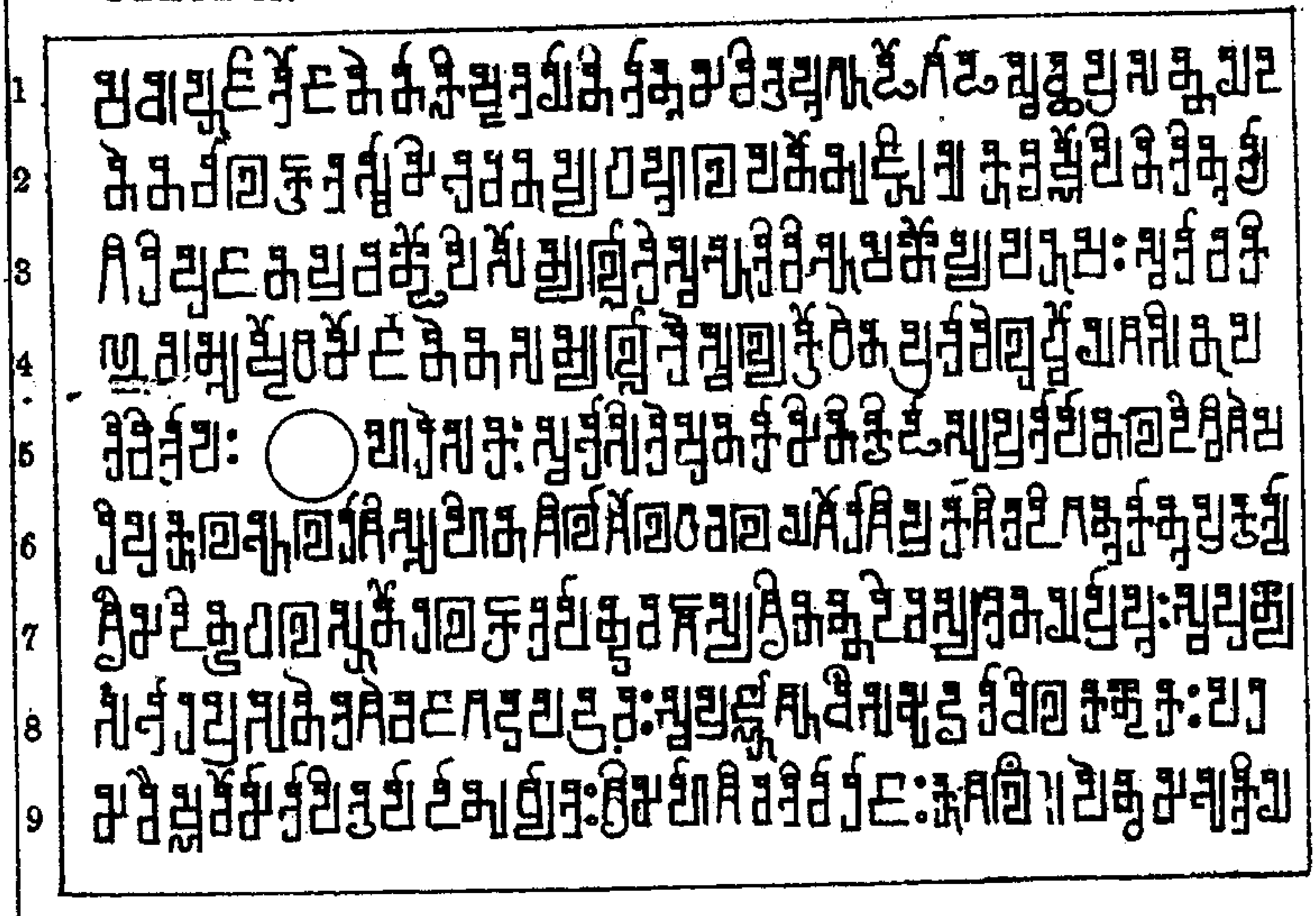

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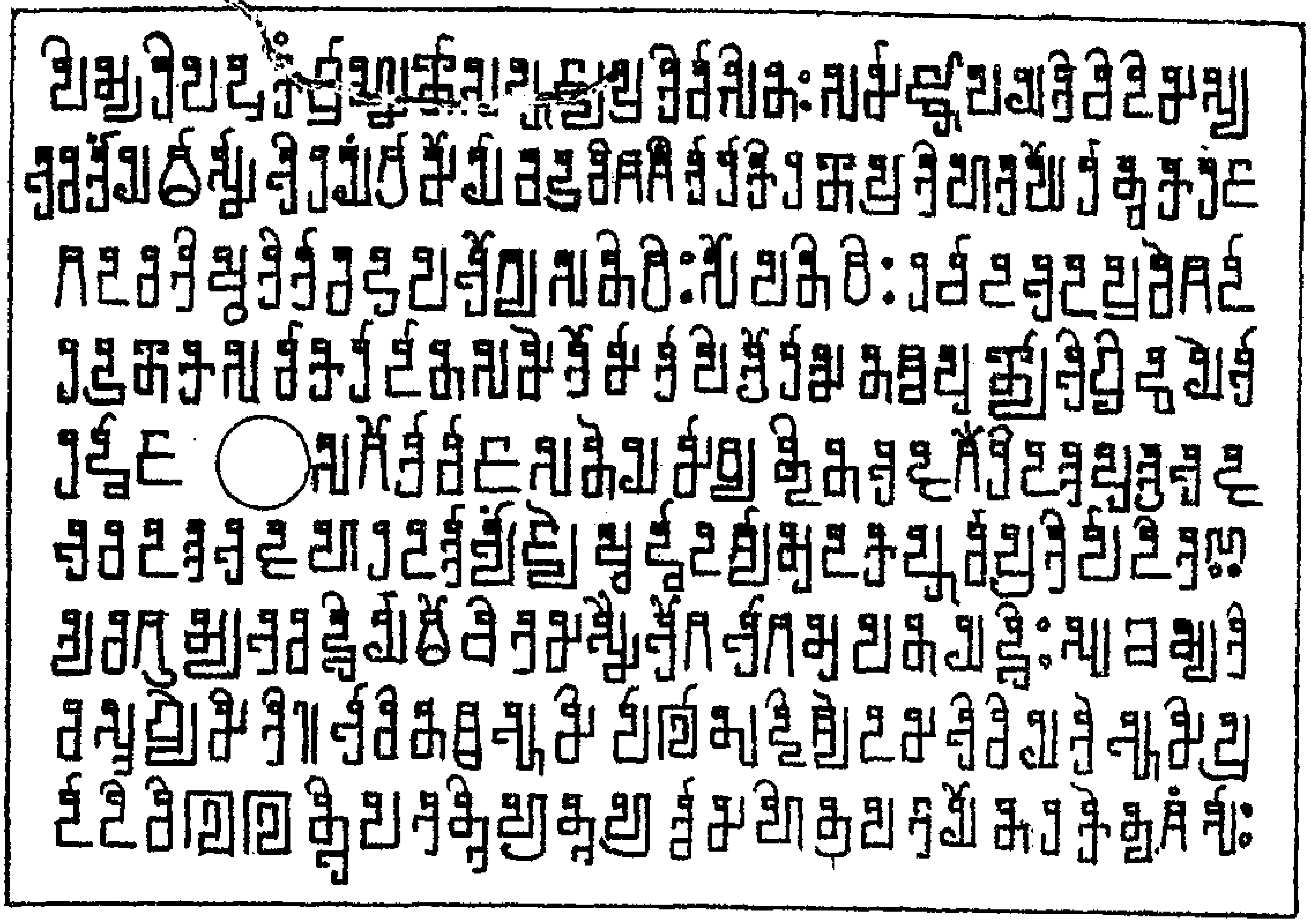

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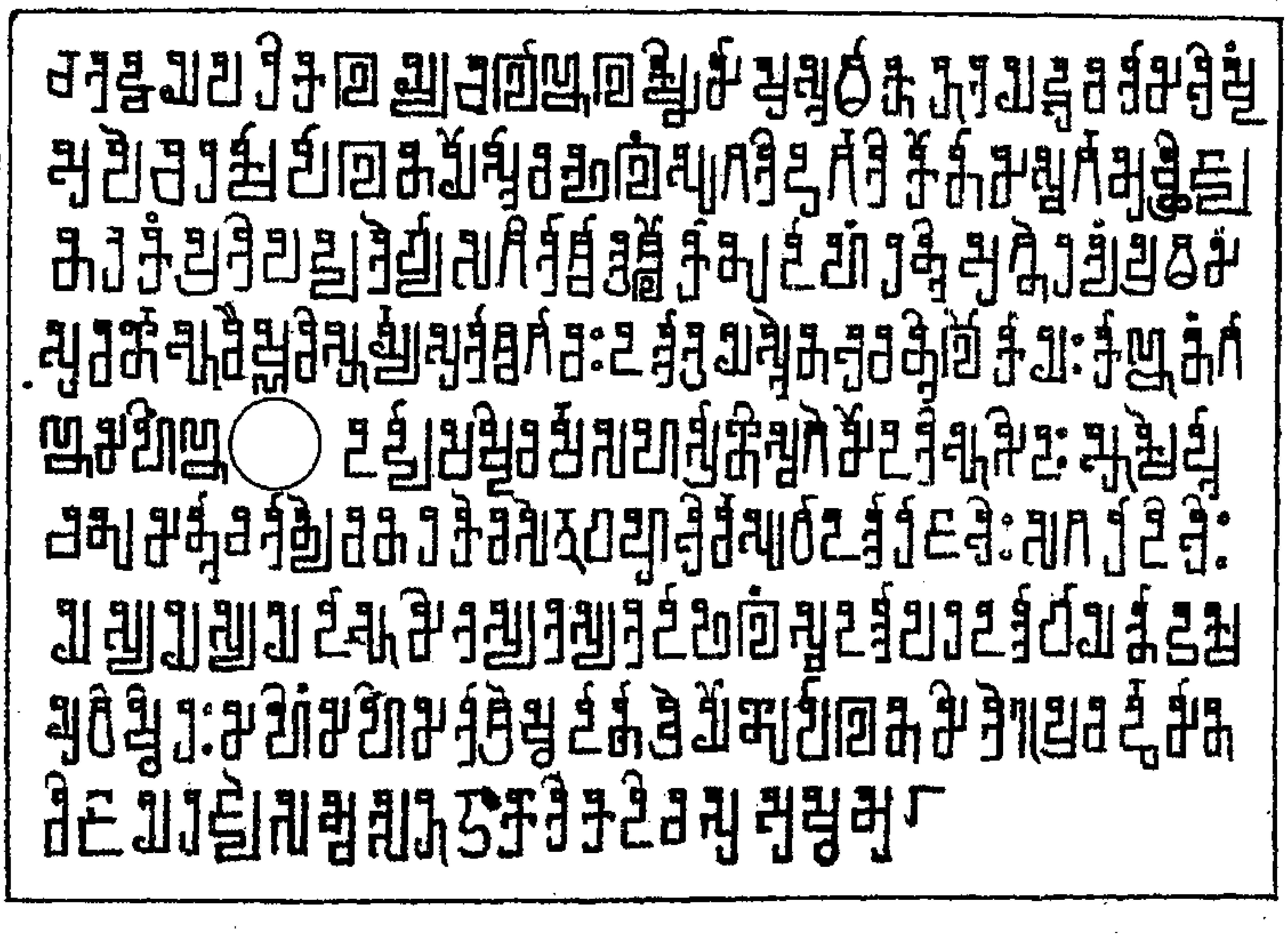

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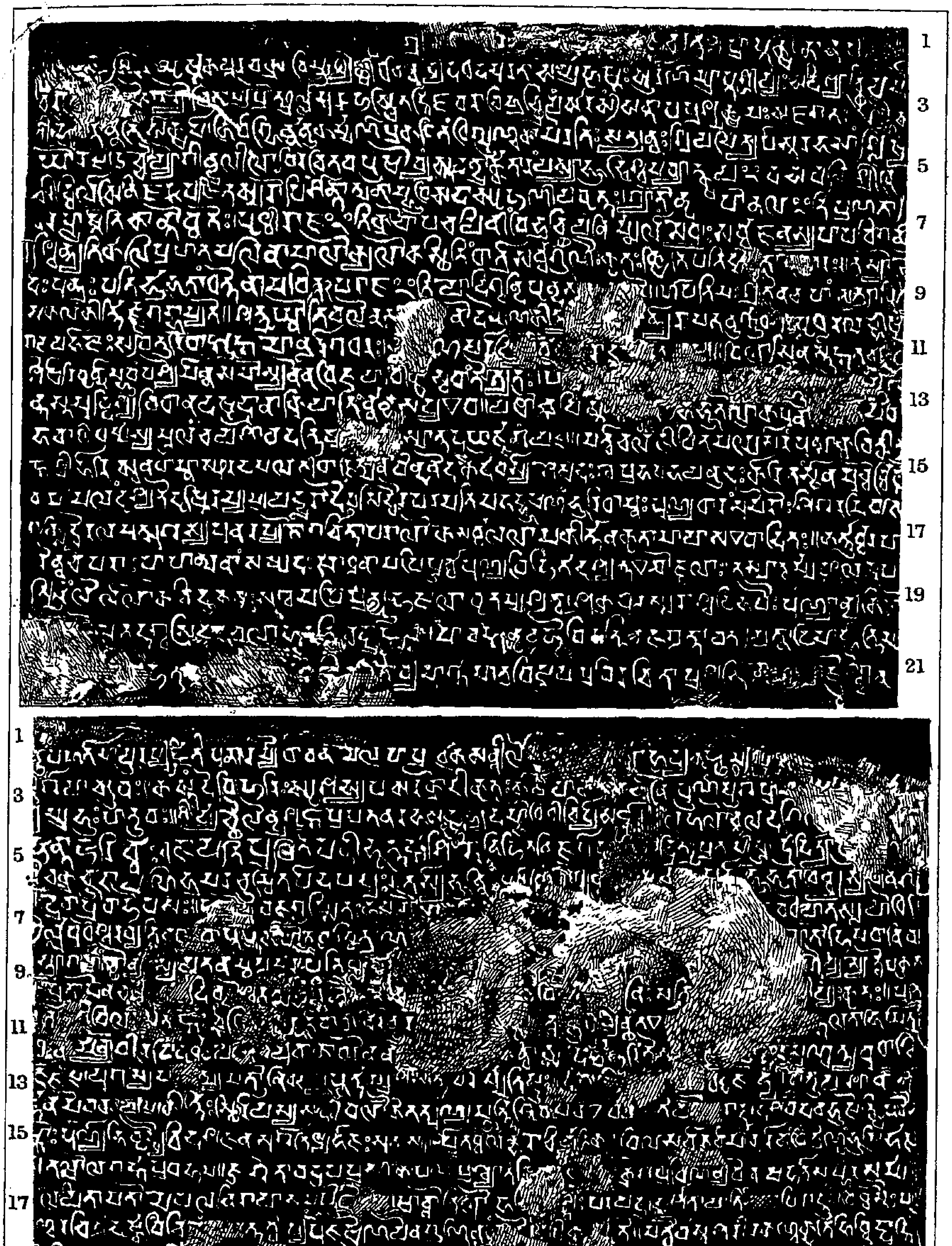

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RAJIB LOCHAN TEMPLE

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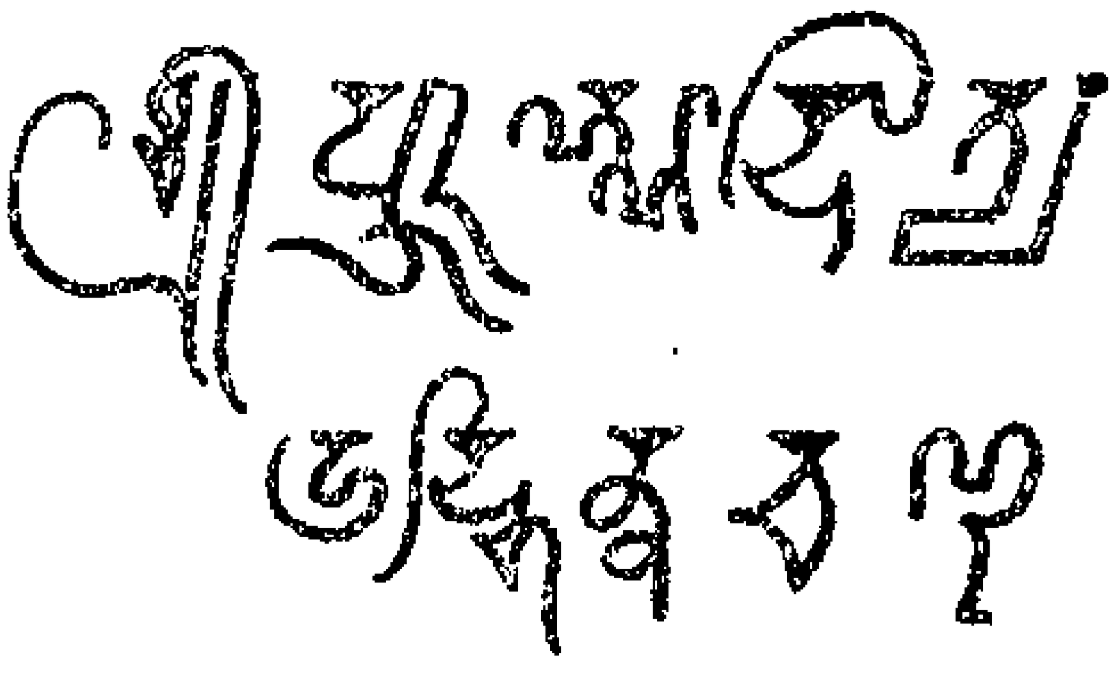

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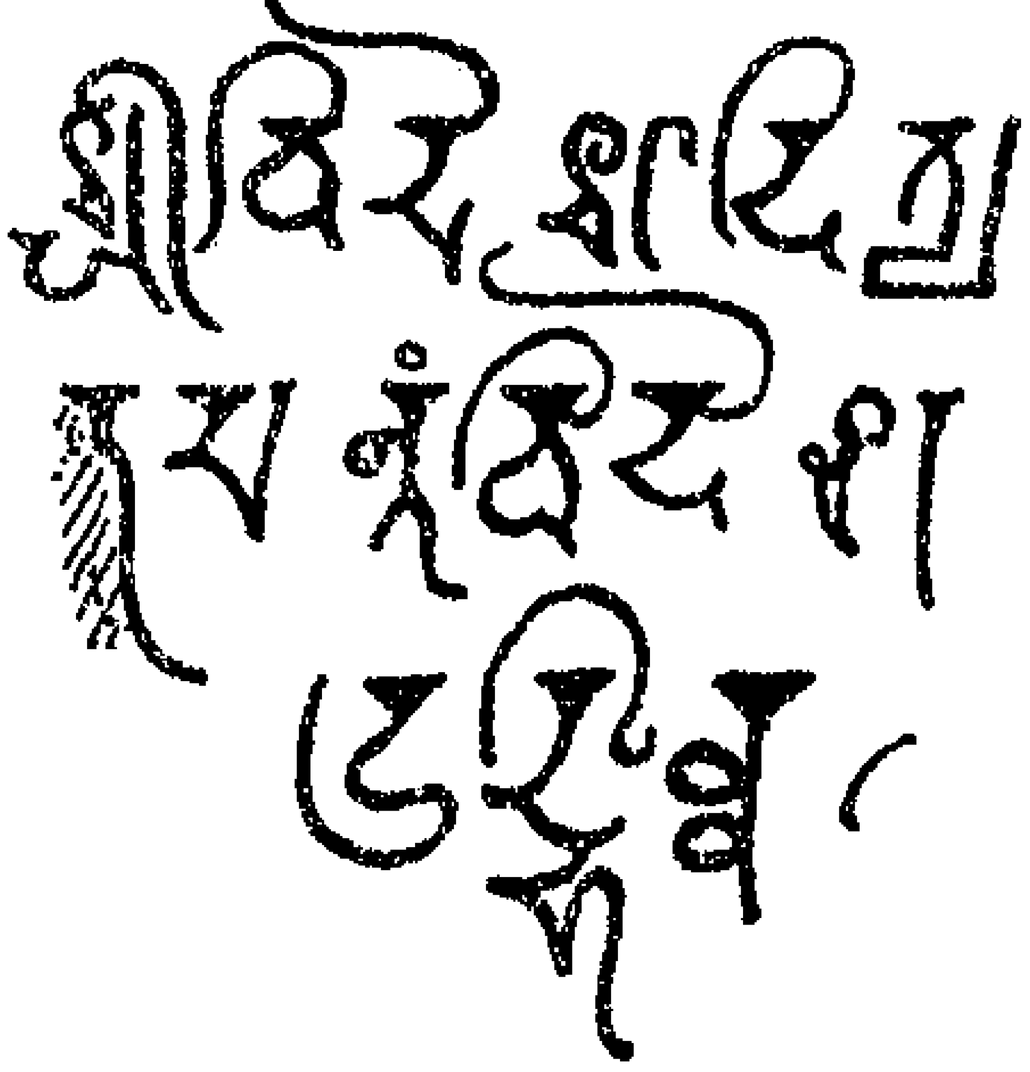

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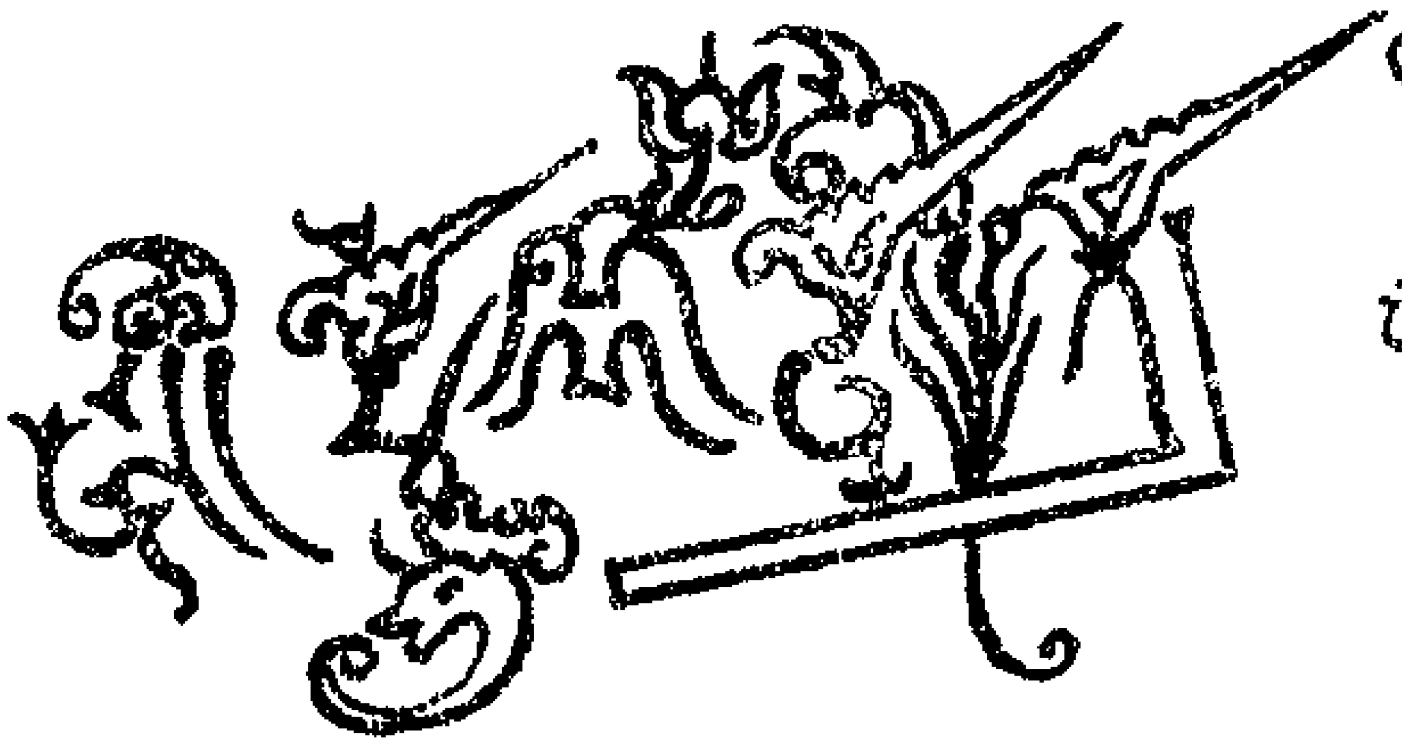

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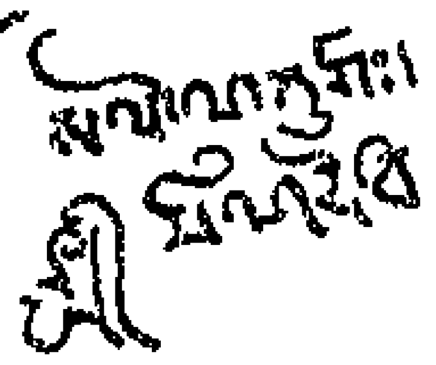

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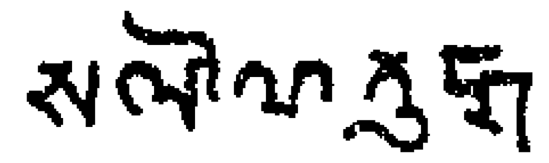

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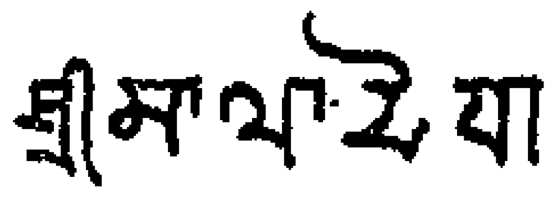

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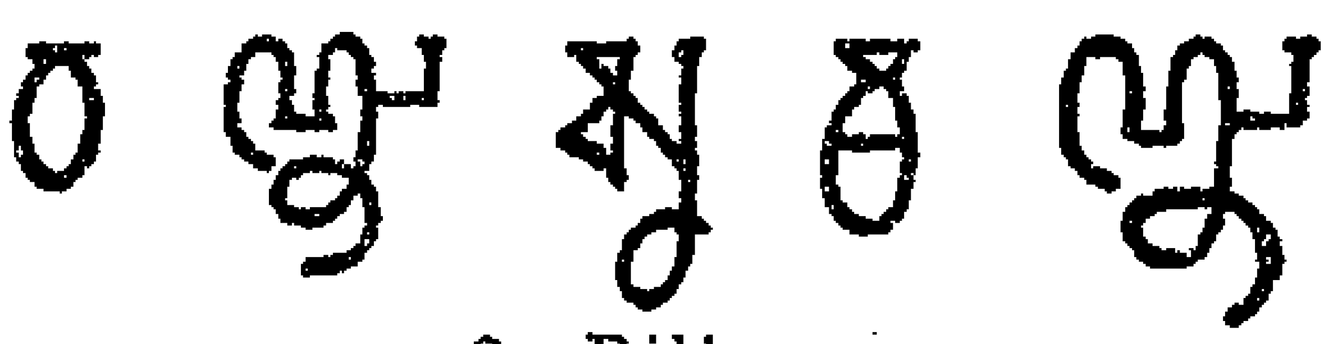

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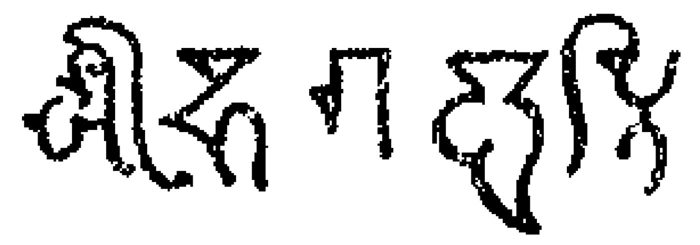

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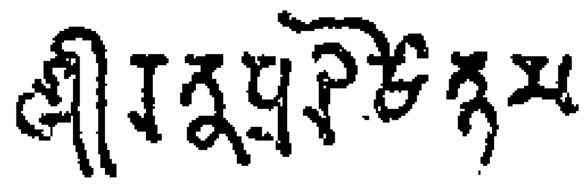
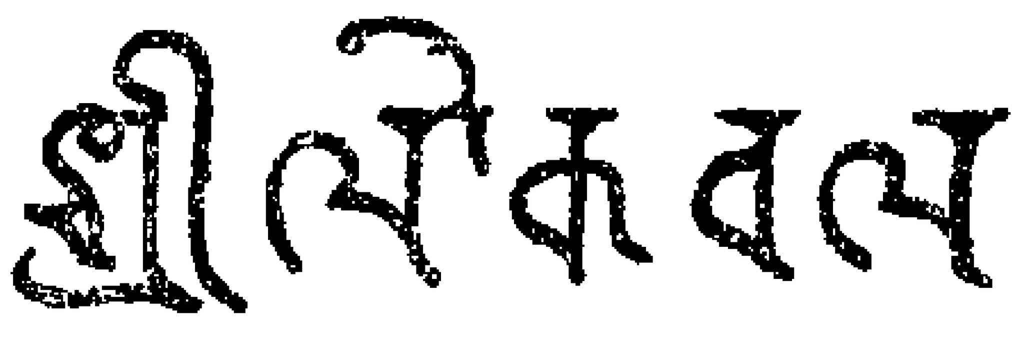
10 Pillar.



RAMACHANDRA TEMPLE.

11 On Pillar.



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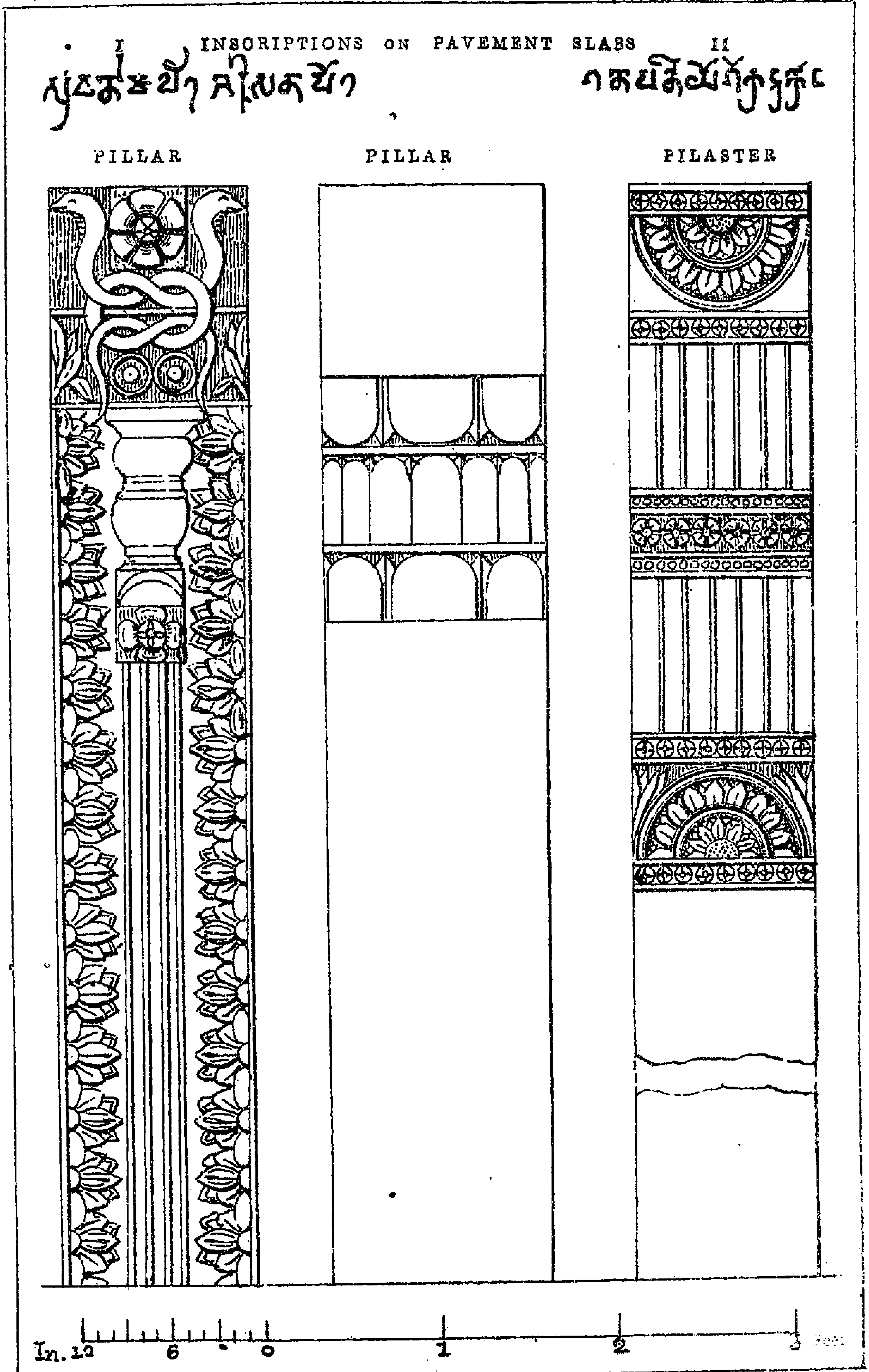

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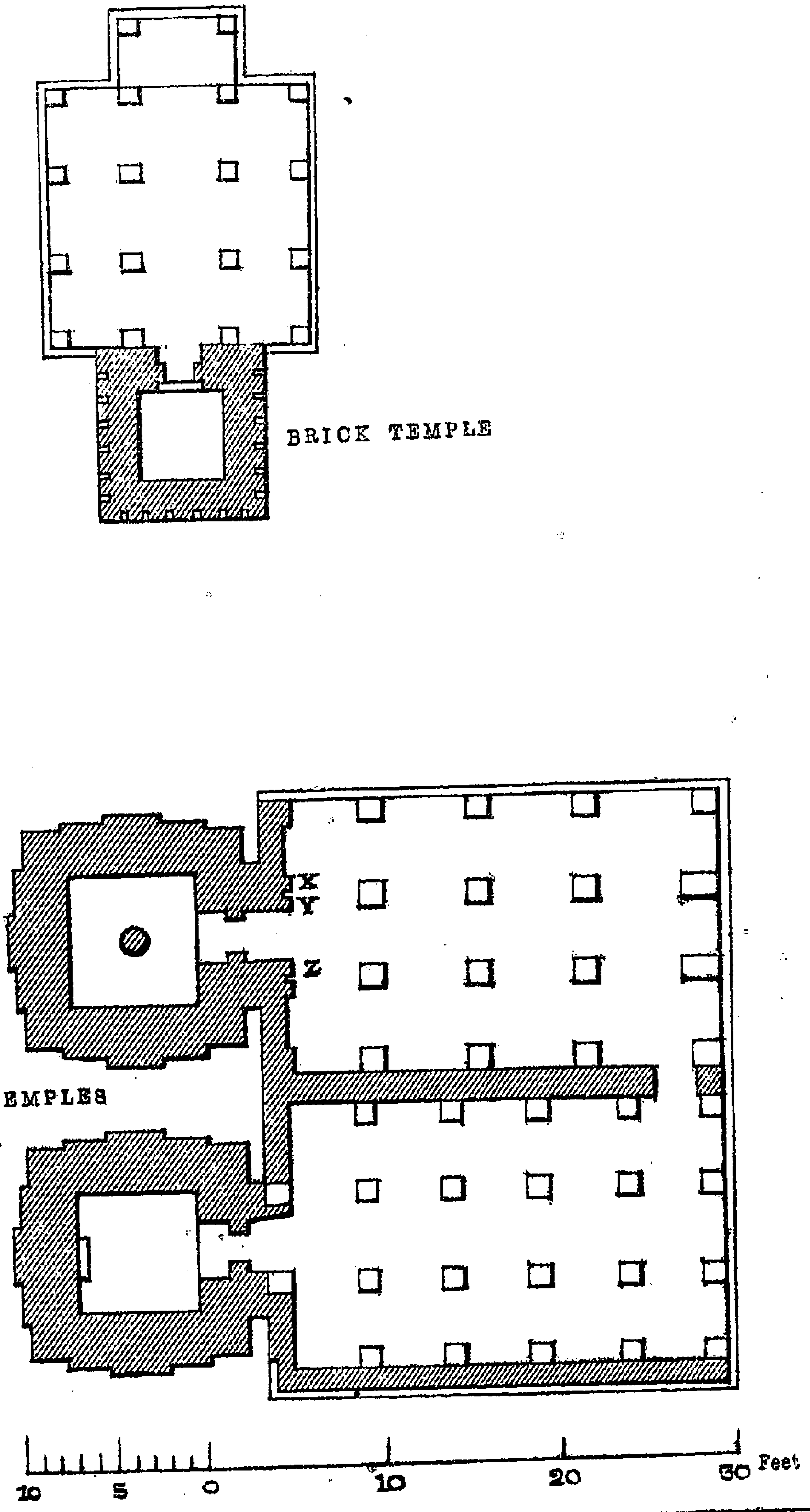

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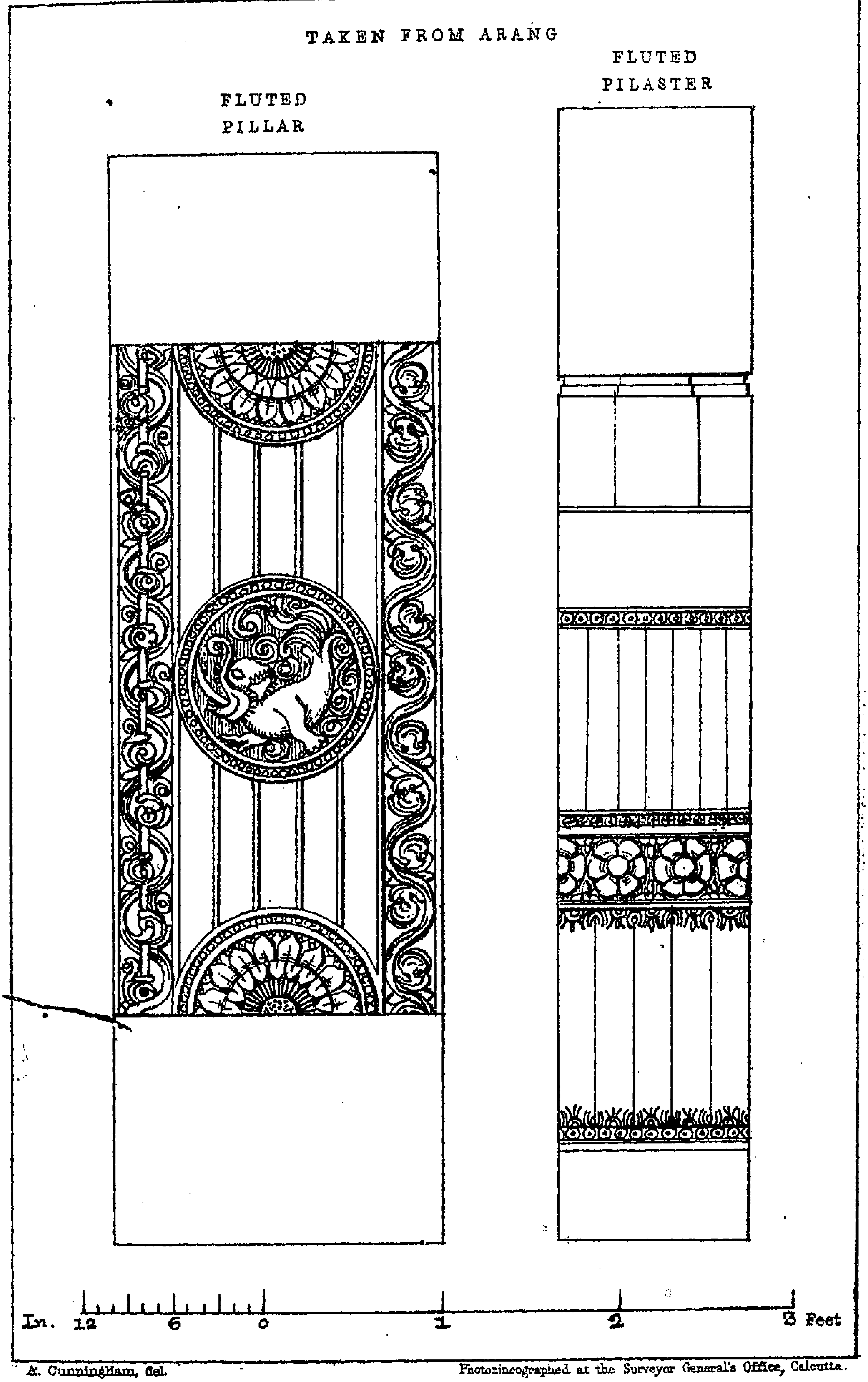

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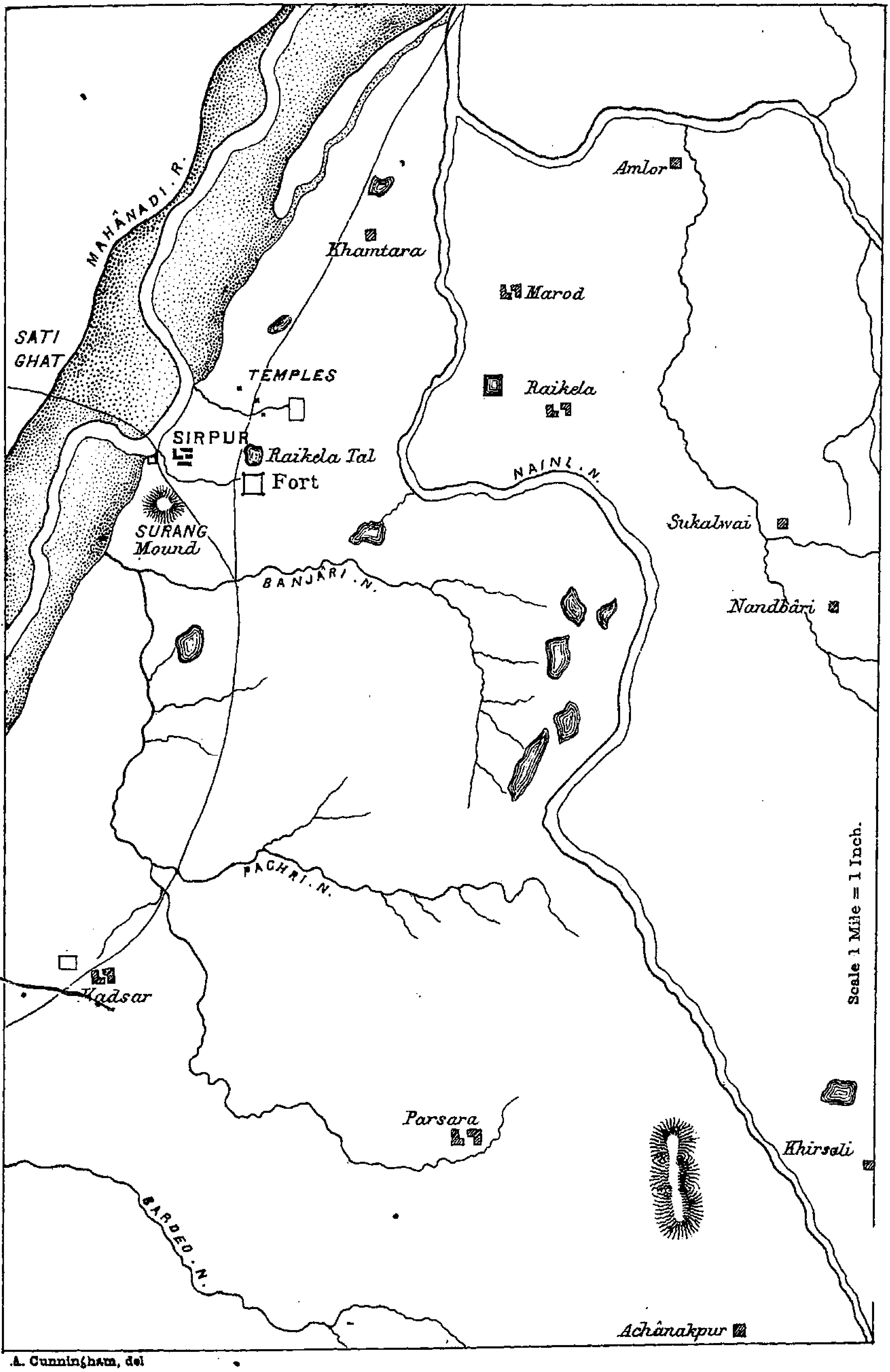

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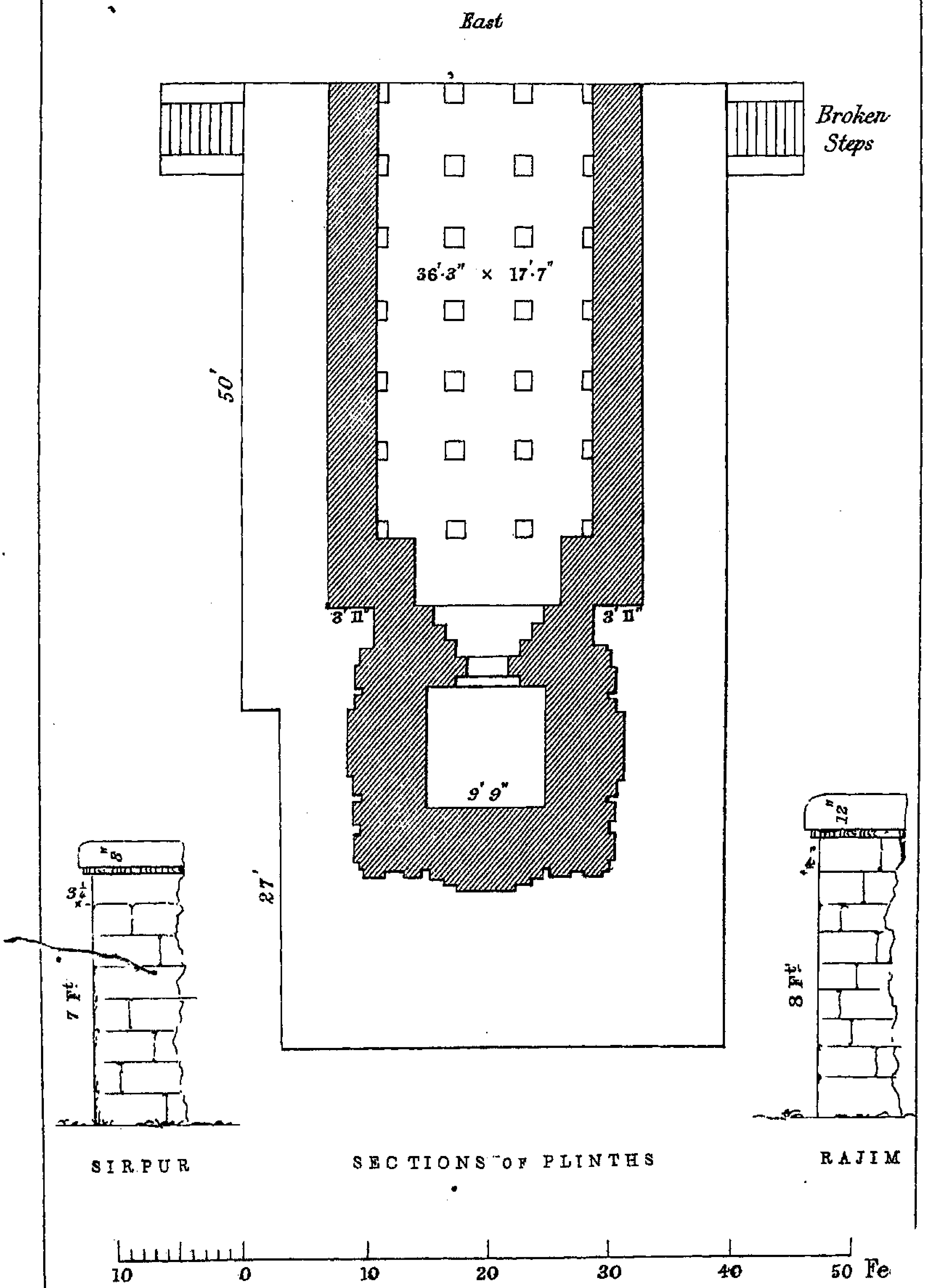
LAKSHMAN TEMPLE.



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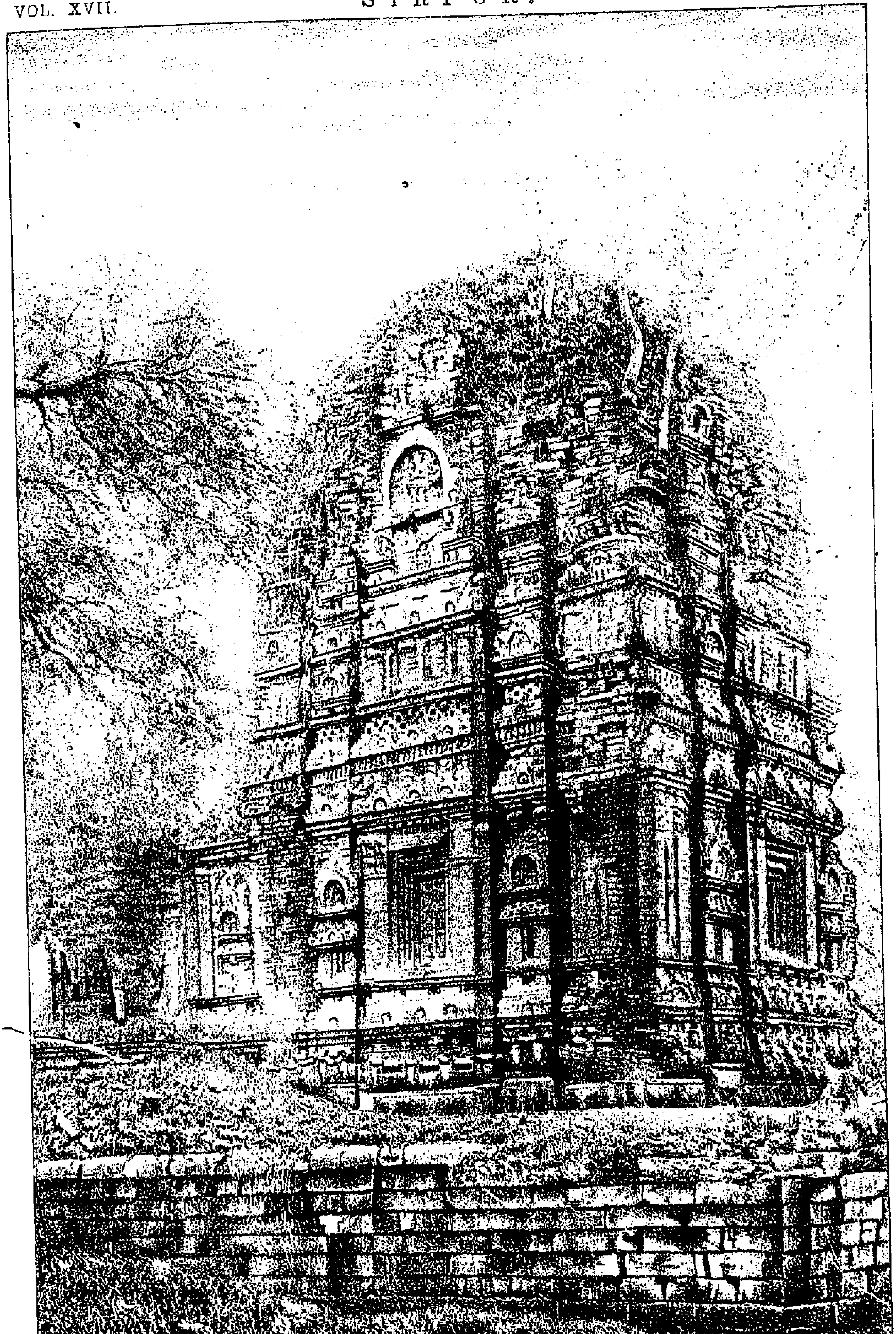

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LAKSHMAN TEMPLE.

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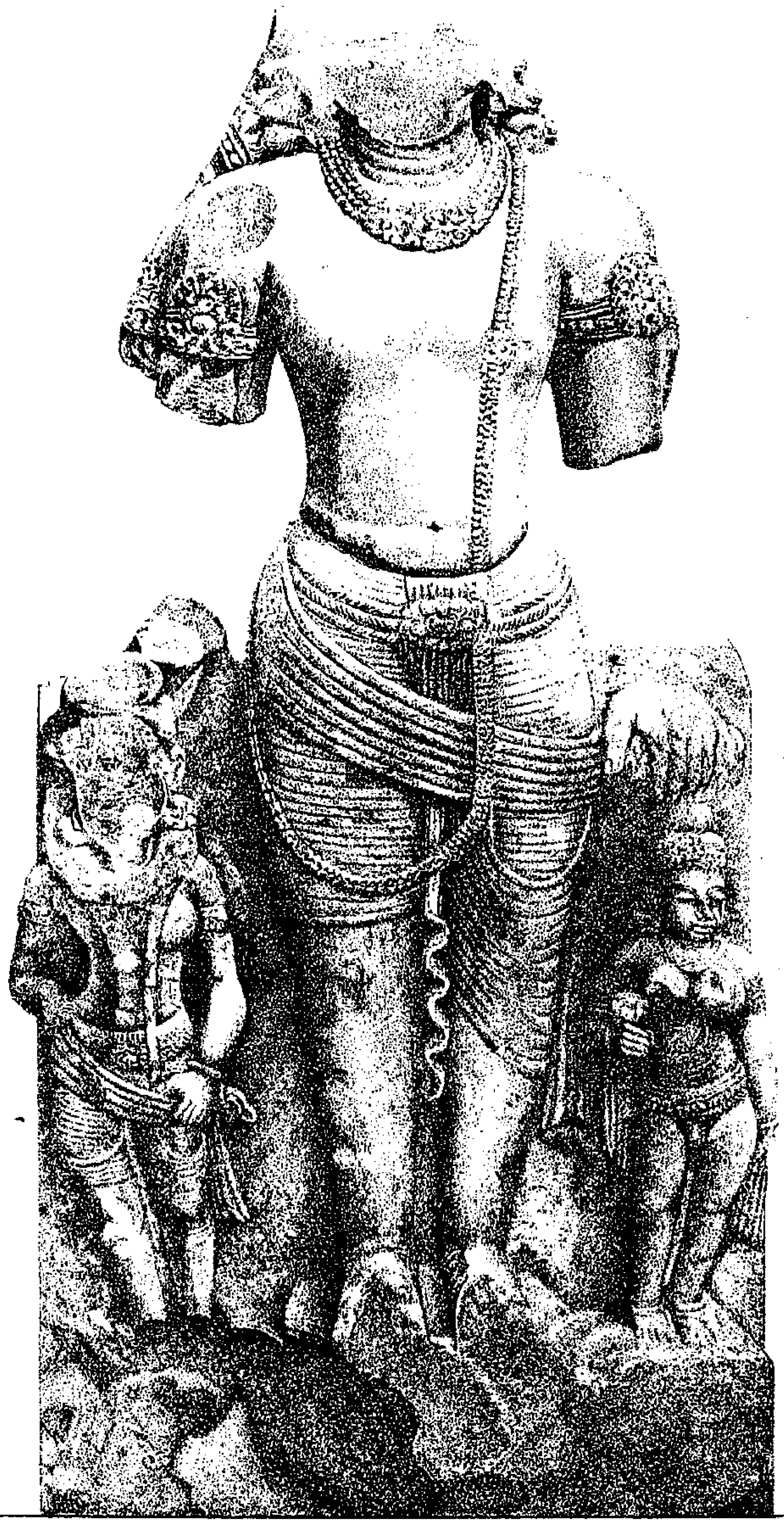
VISHNU.



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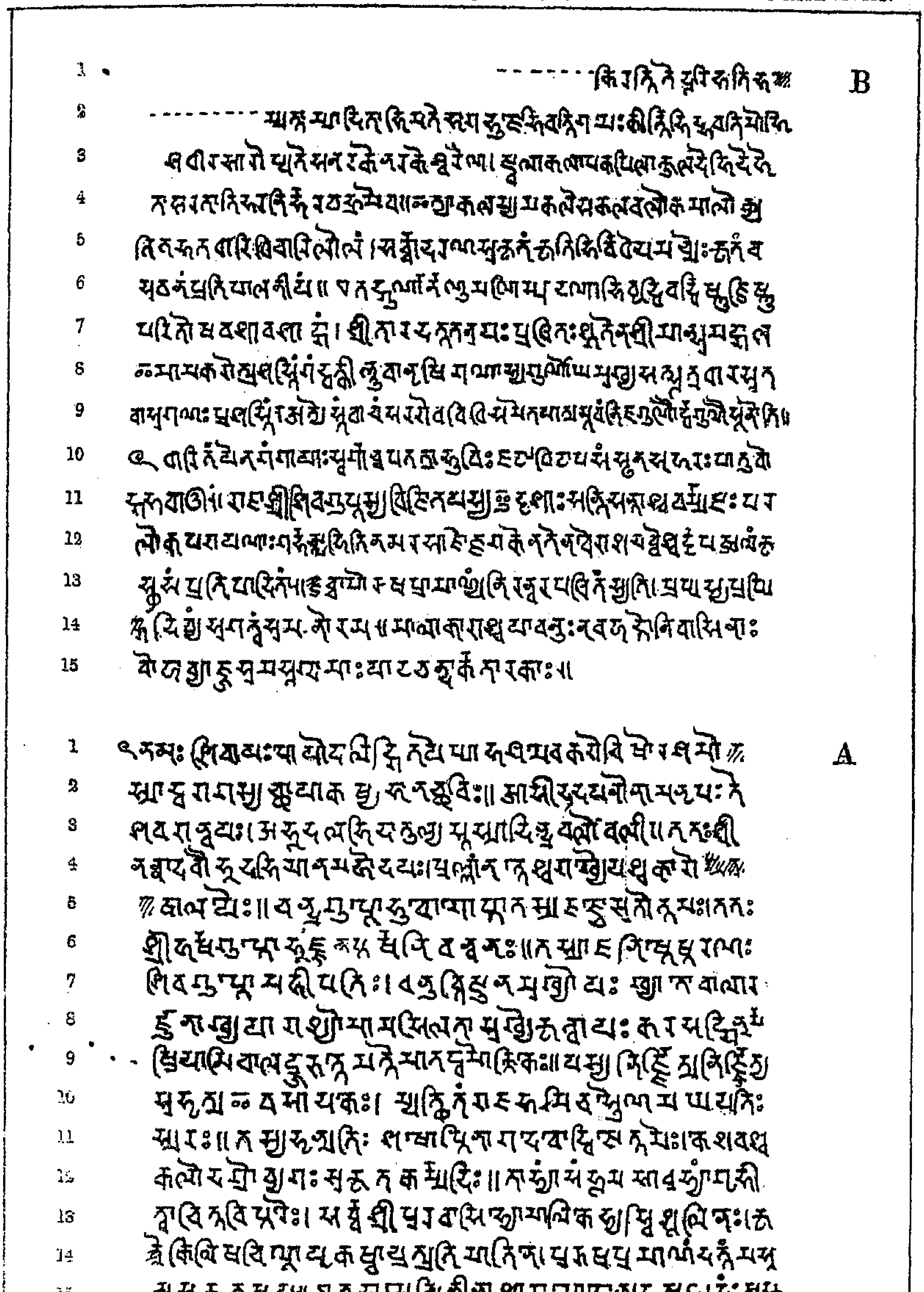

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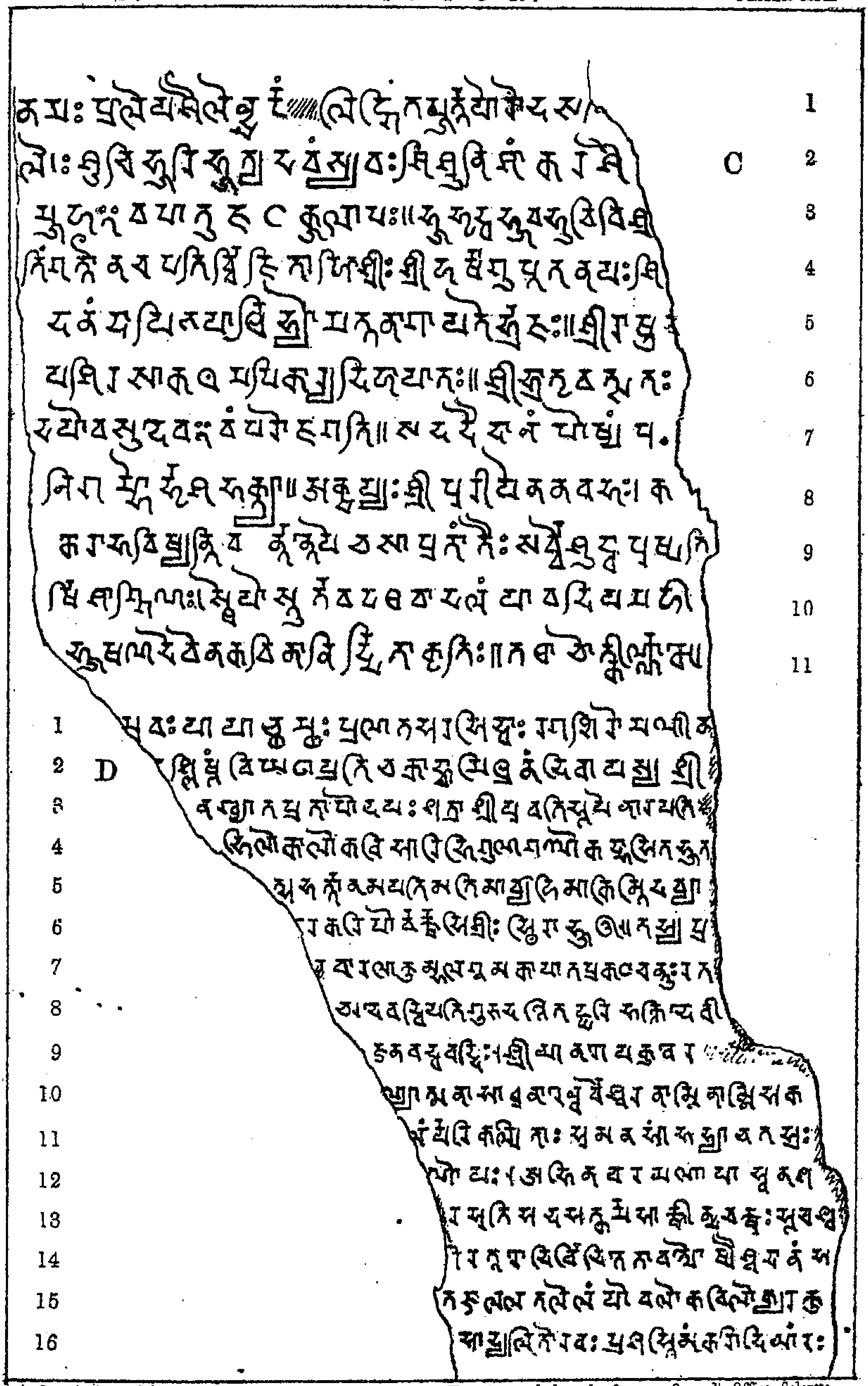

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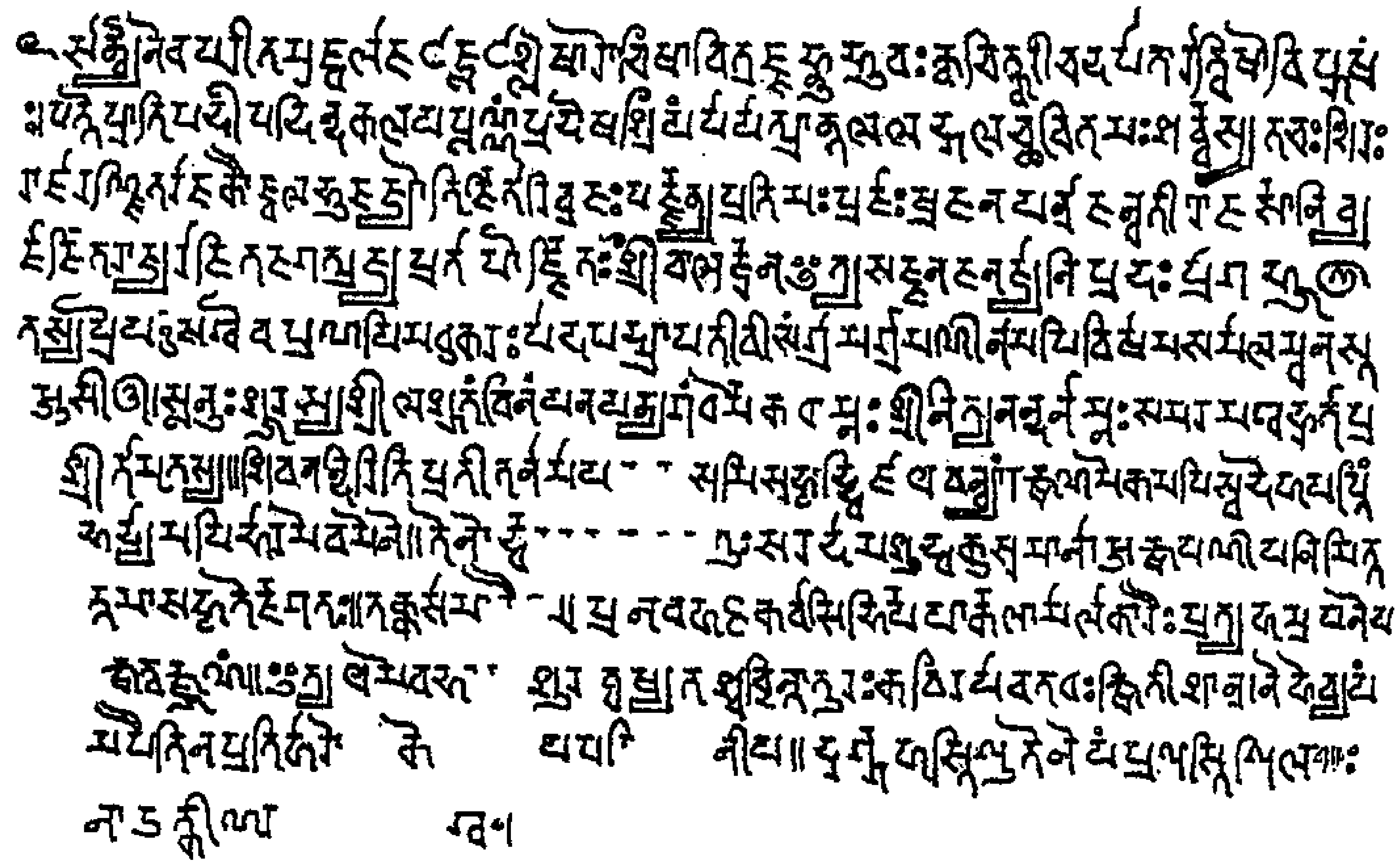
GANDHESWARA TEMPLE.

under Pillar of Portico.

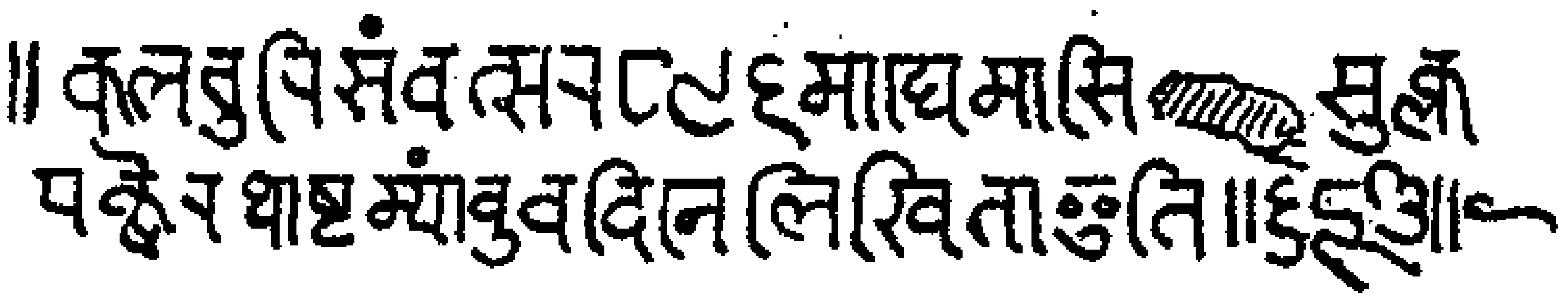
E



DATES OF KALACHURI OR CHEDI ERA.

Kalachuri Saṁvat 896.

RÂJIM

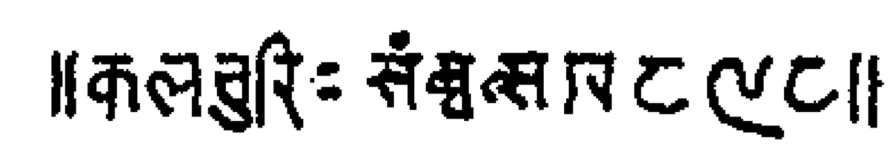


Kalachuri Samvat 910.

RATANPUR

Kalachuri Samvat 898.

SEORINARAYAN



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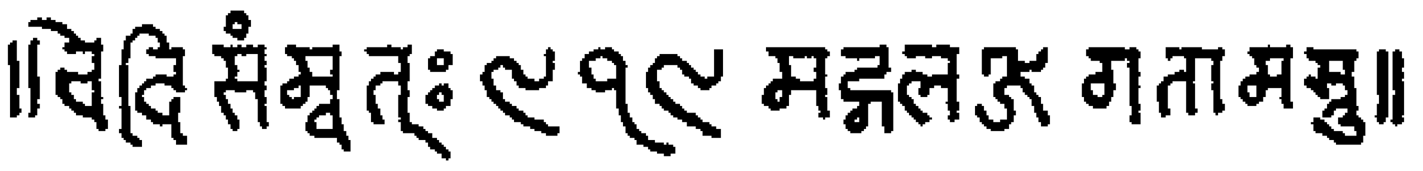

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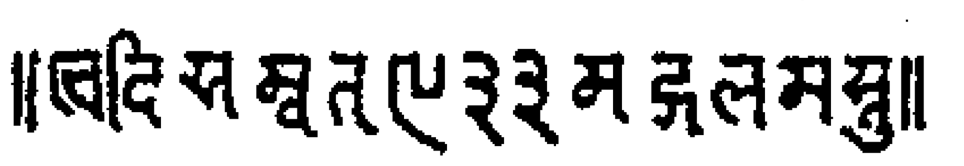

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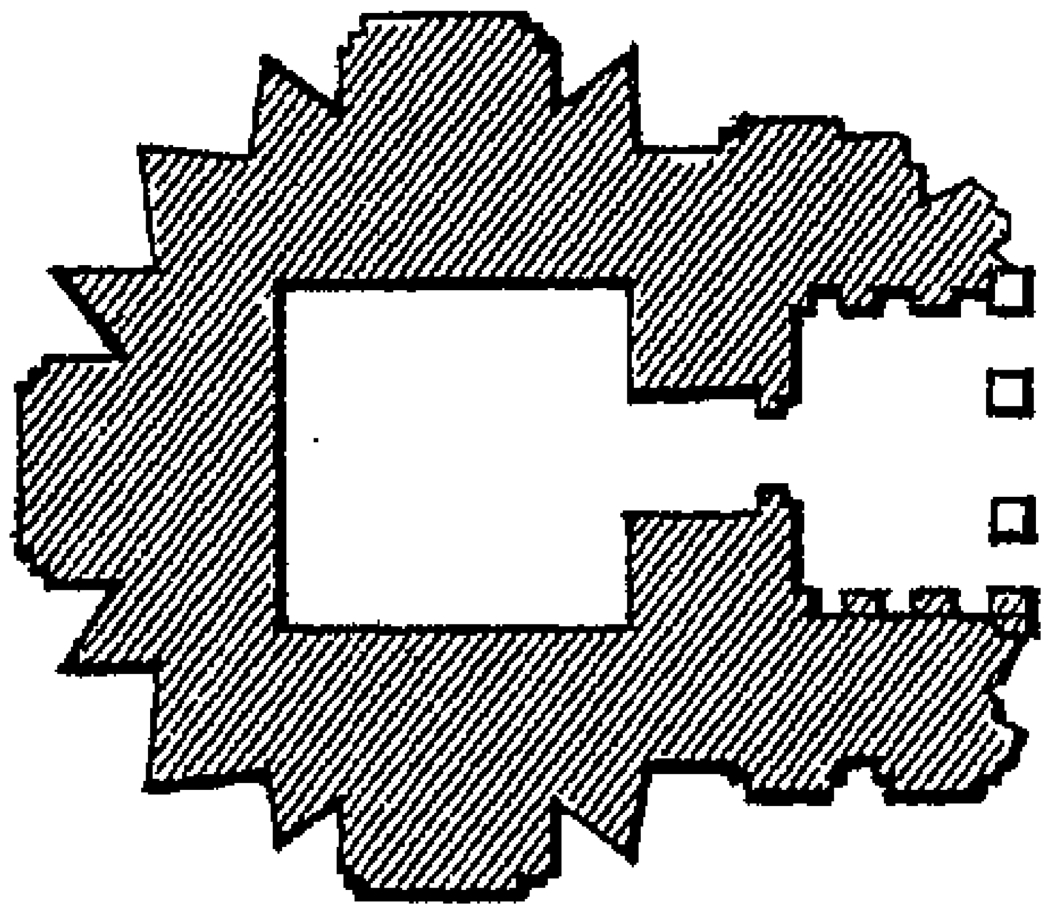

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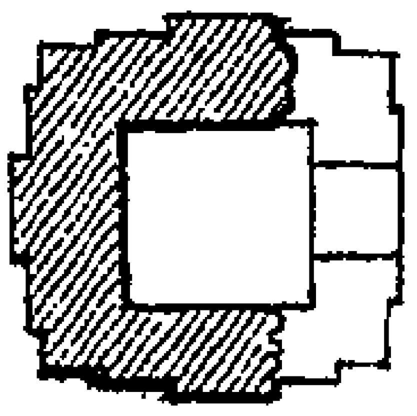
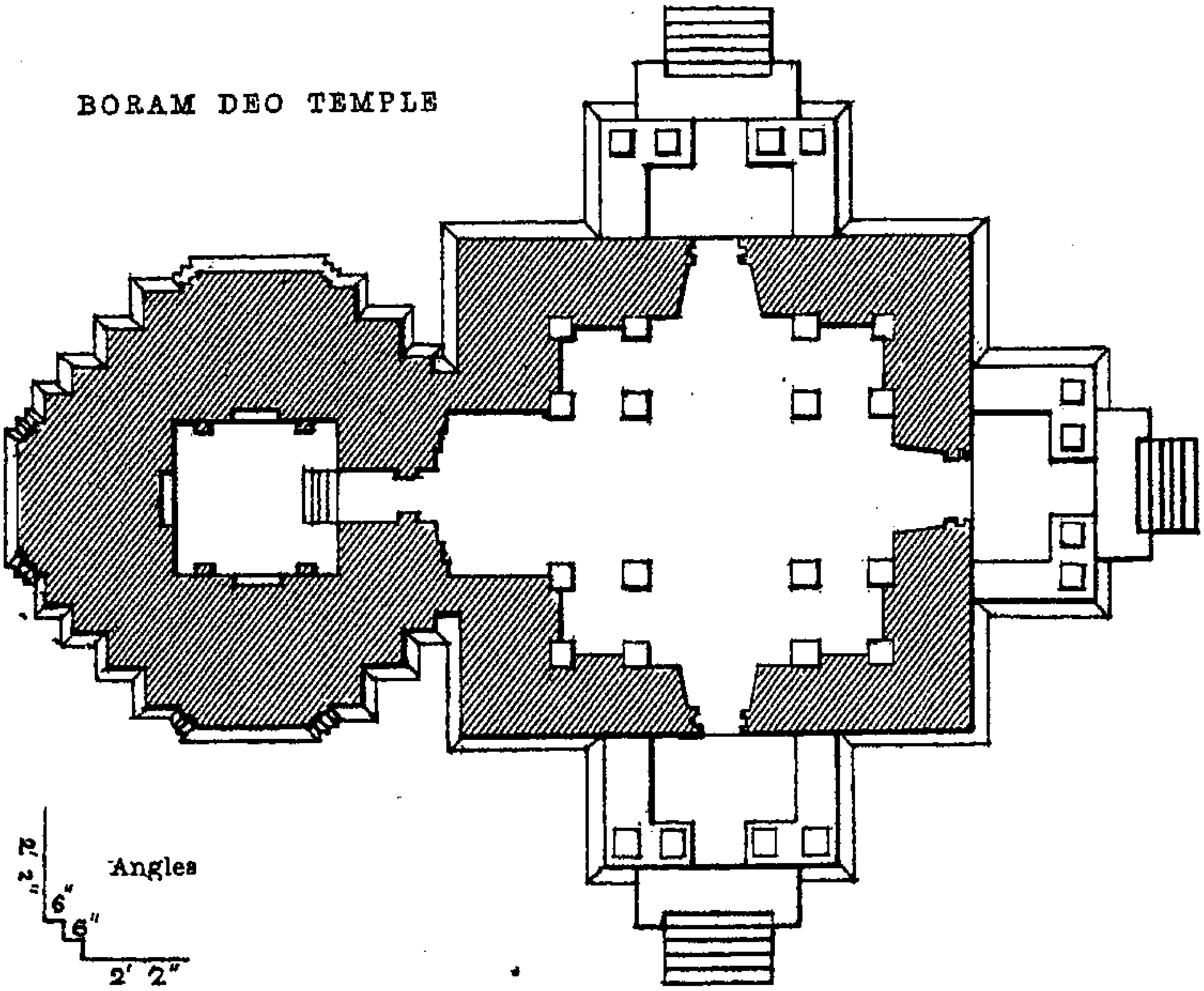
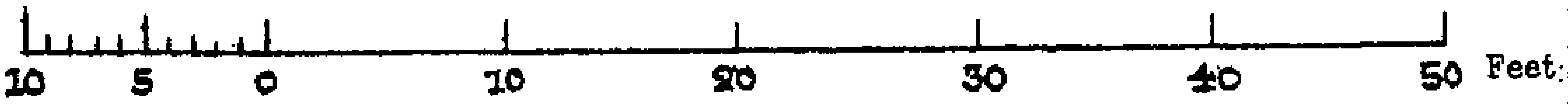


BORAM DEO TEMPLE





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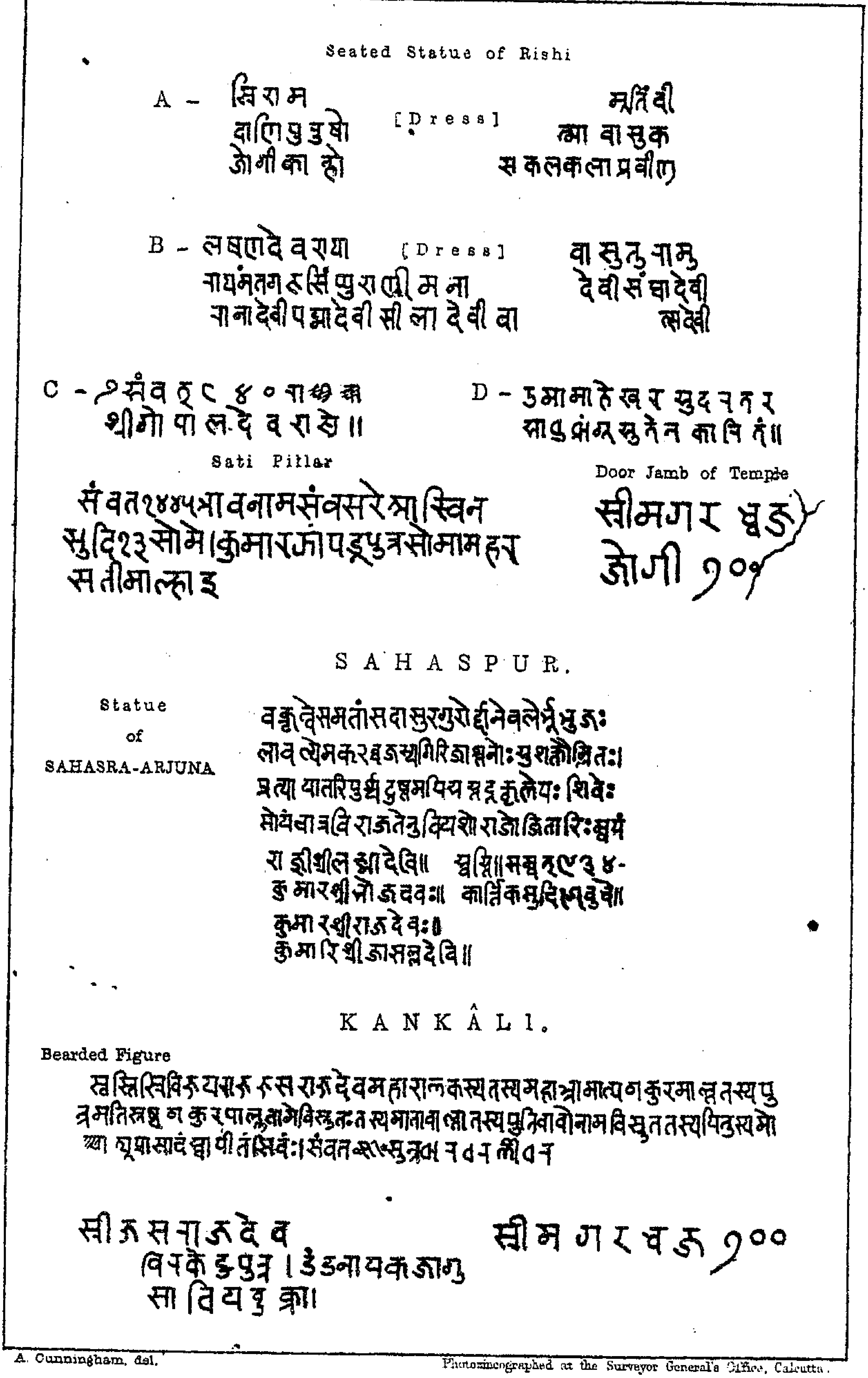

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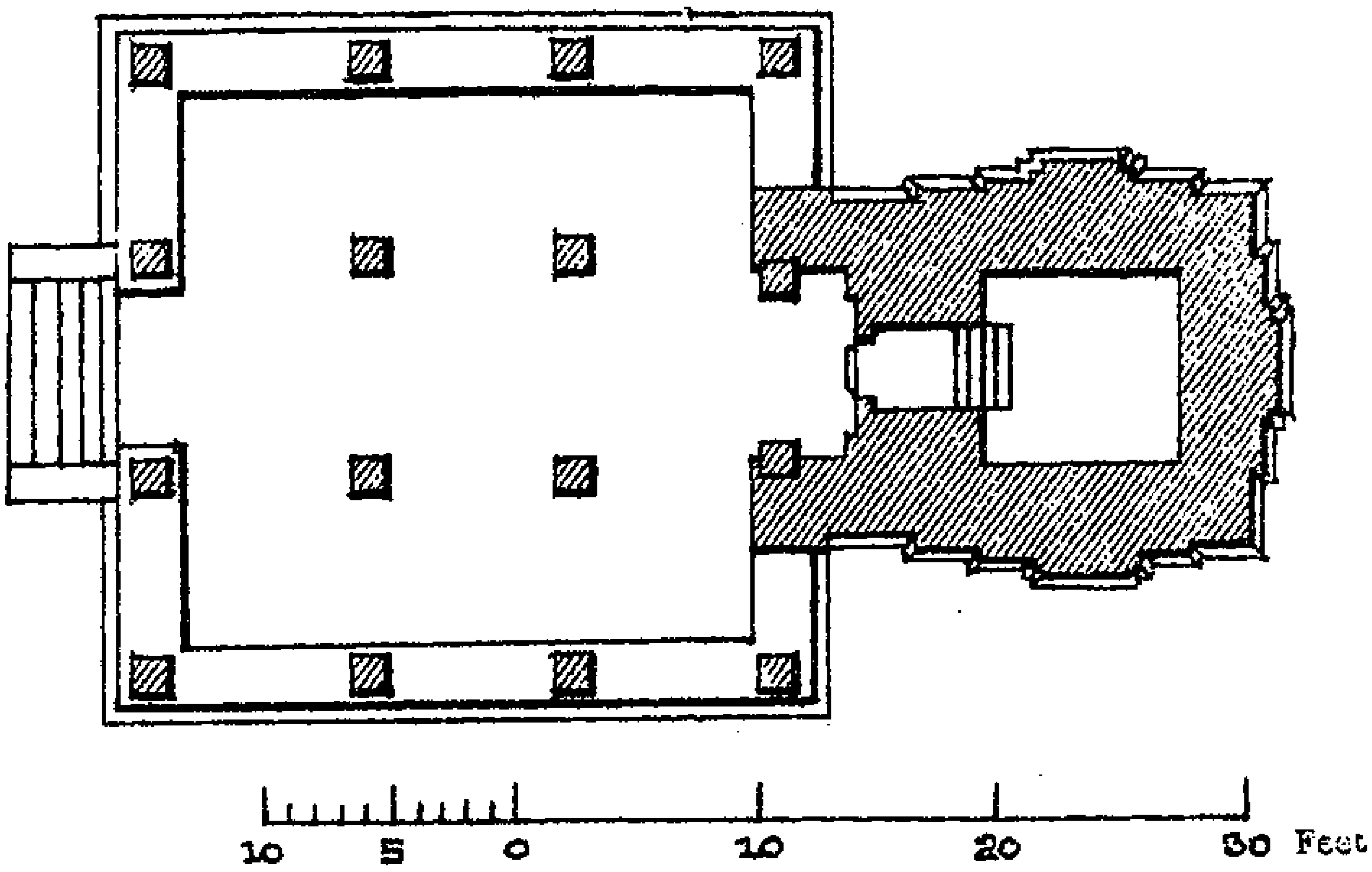
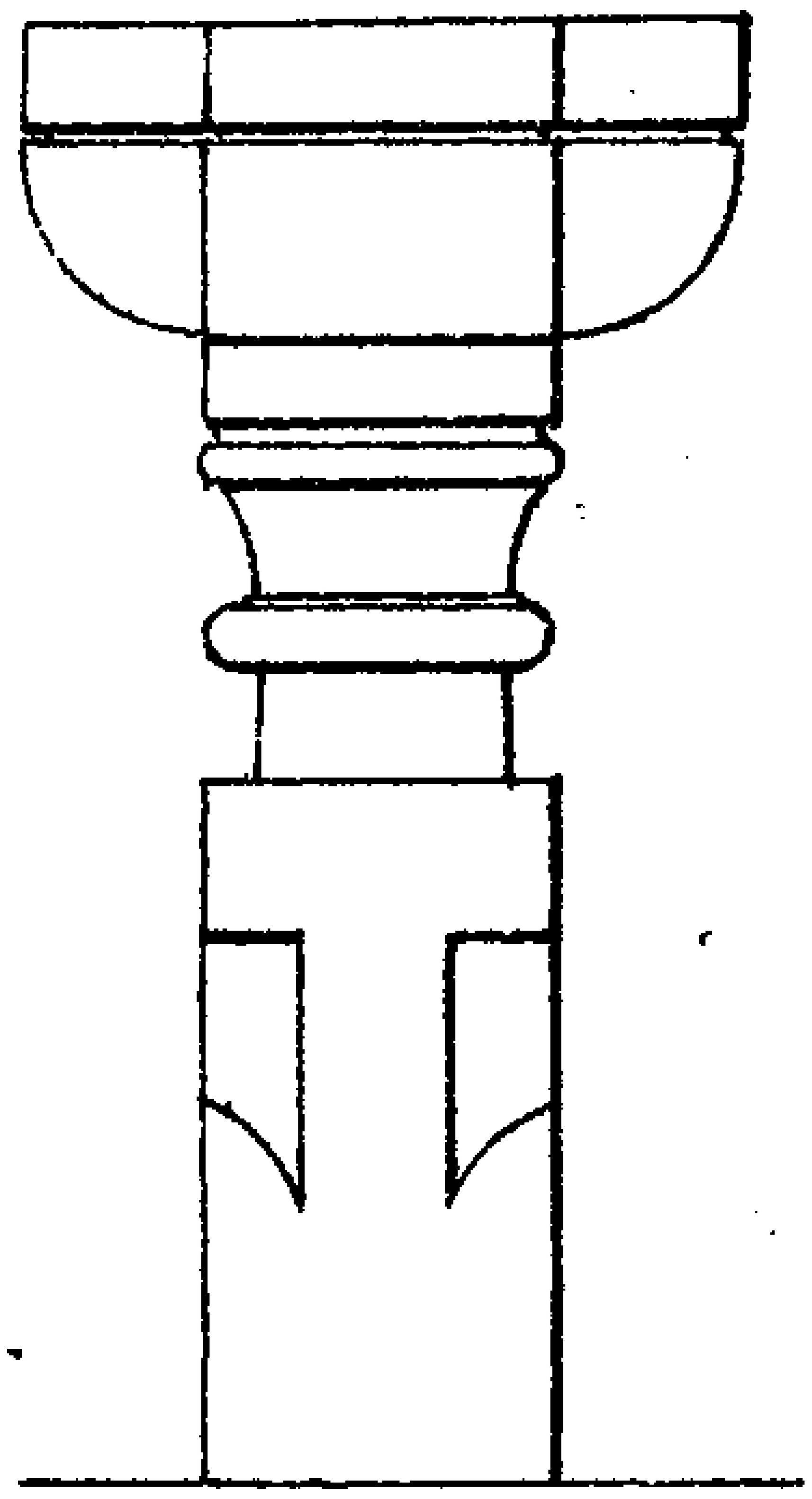
MARWA-MAHAL TEMPLE.





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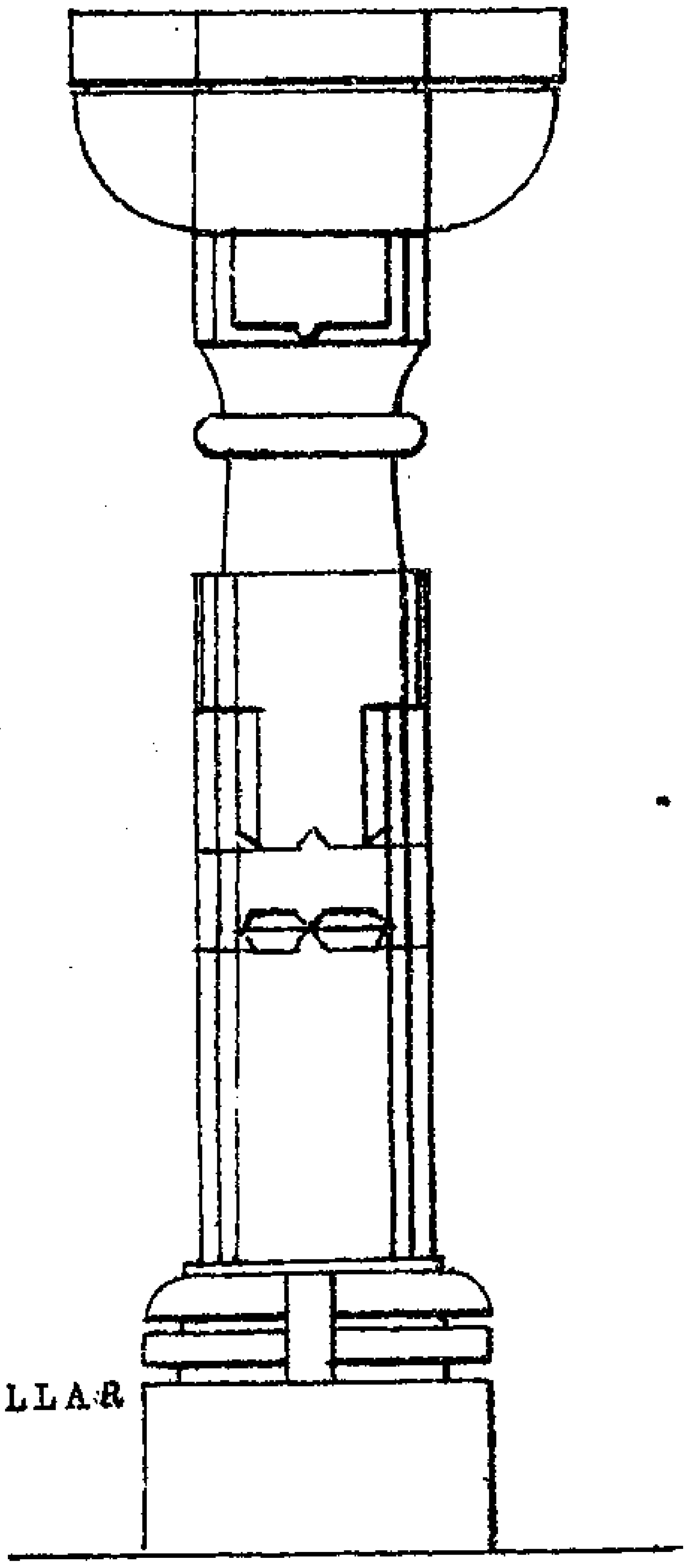

CENTRAL PILLAR

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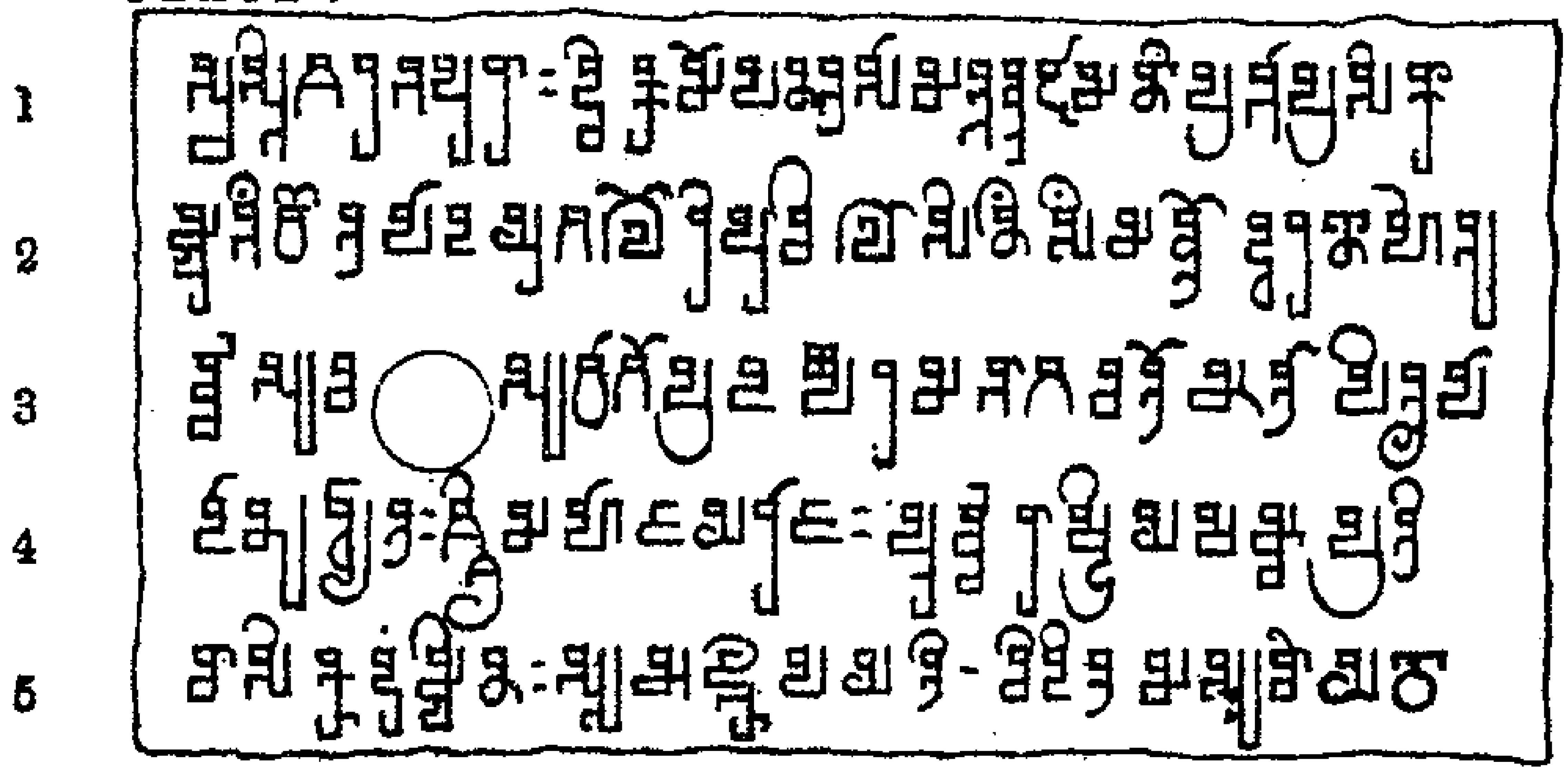

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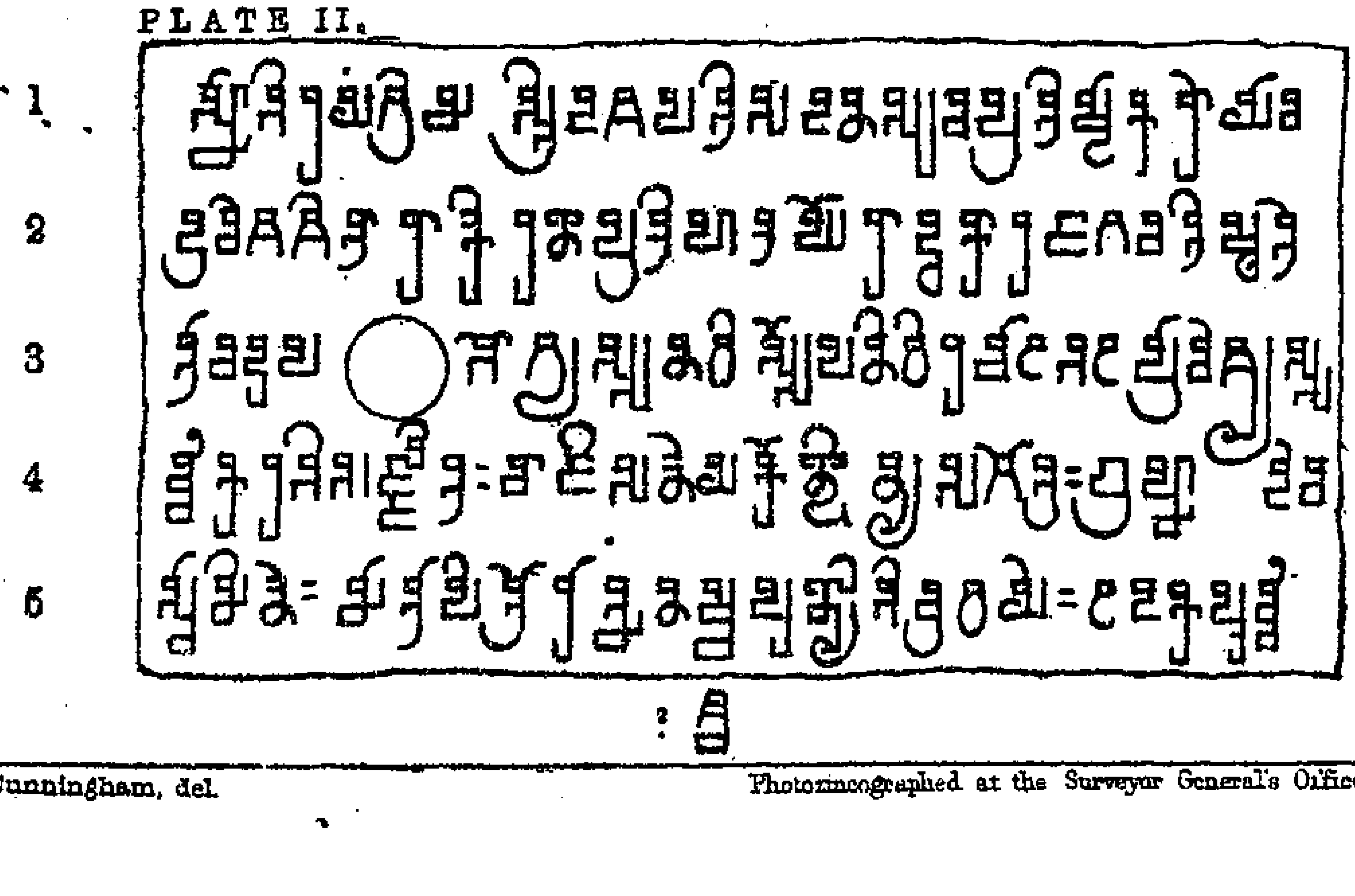

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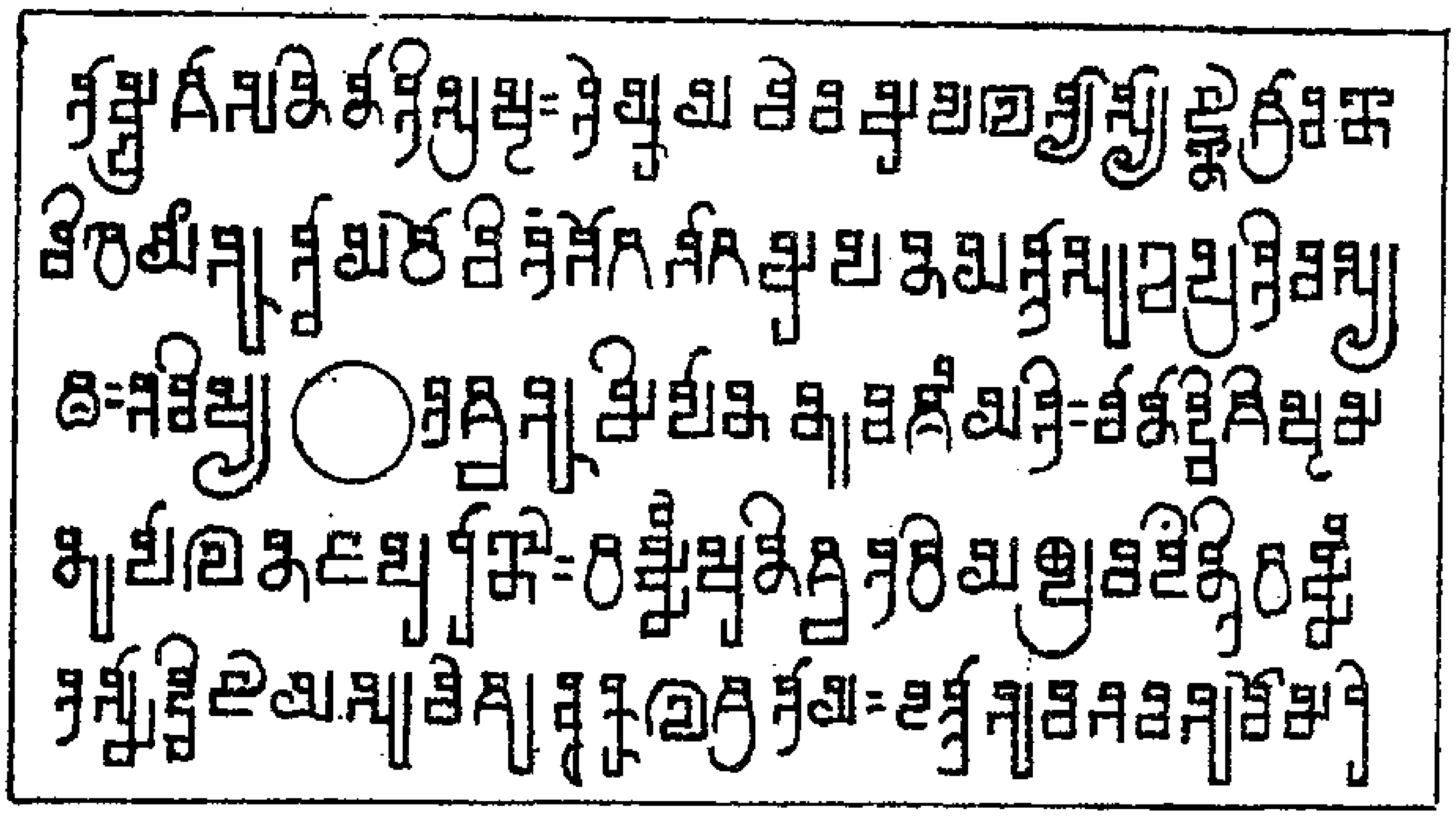

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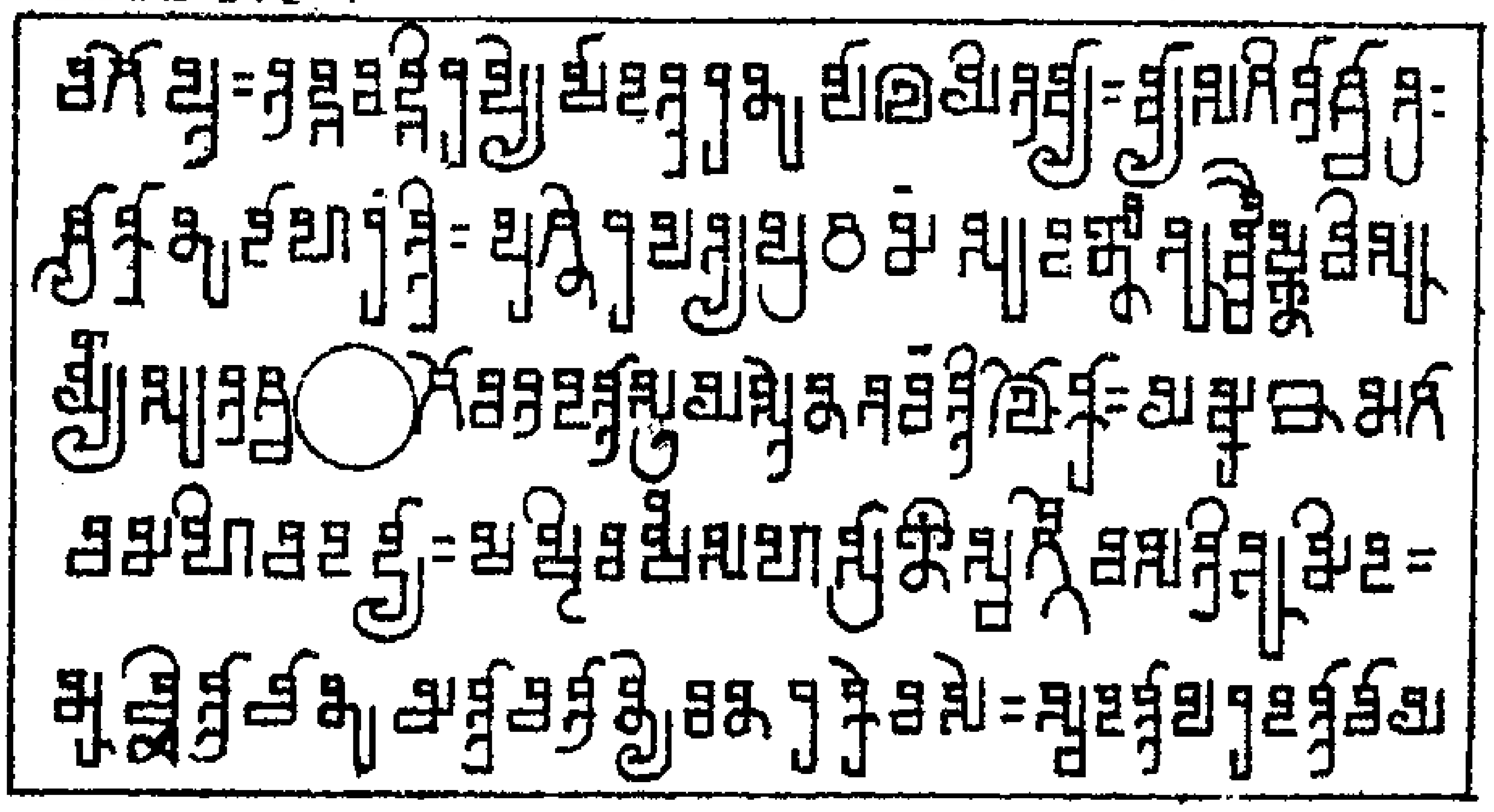

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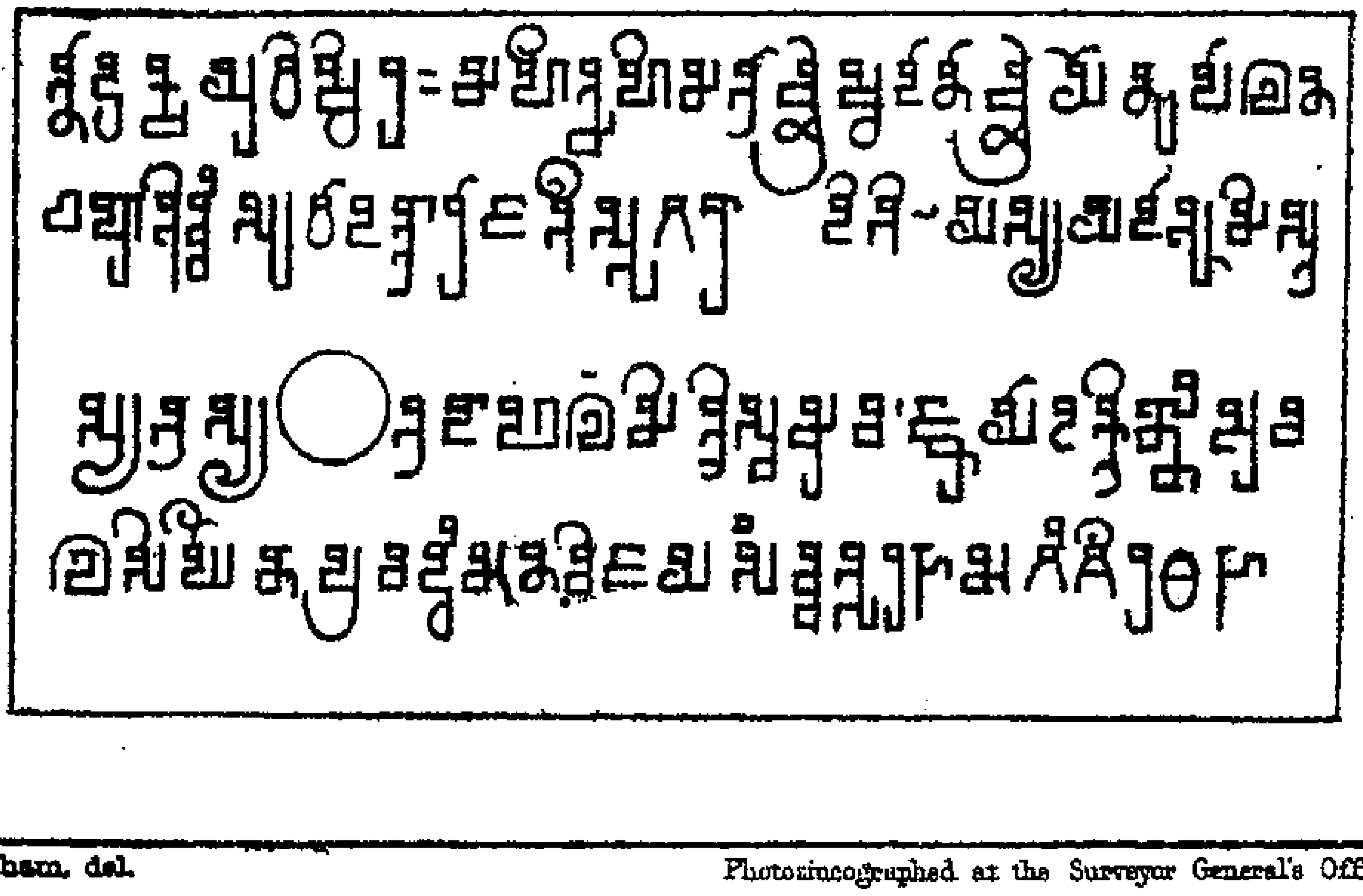

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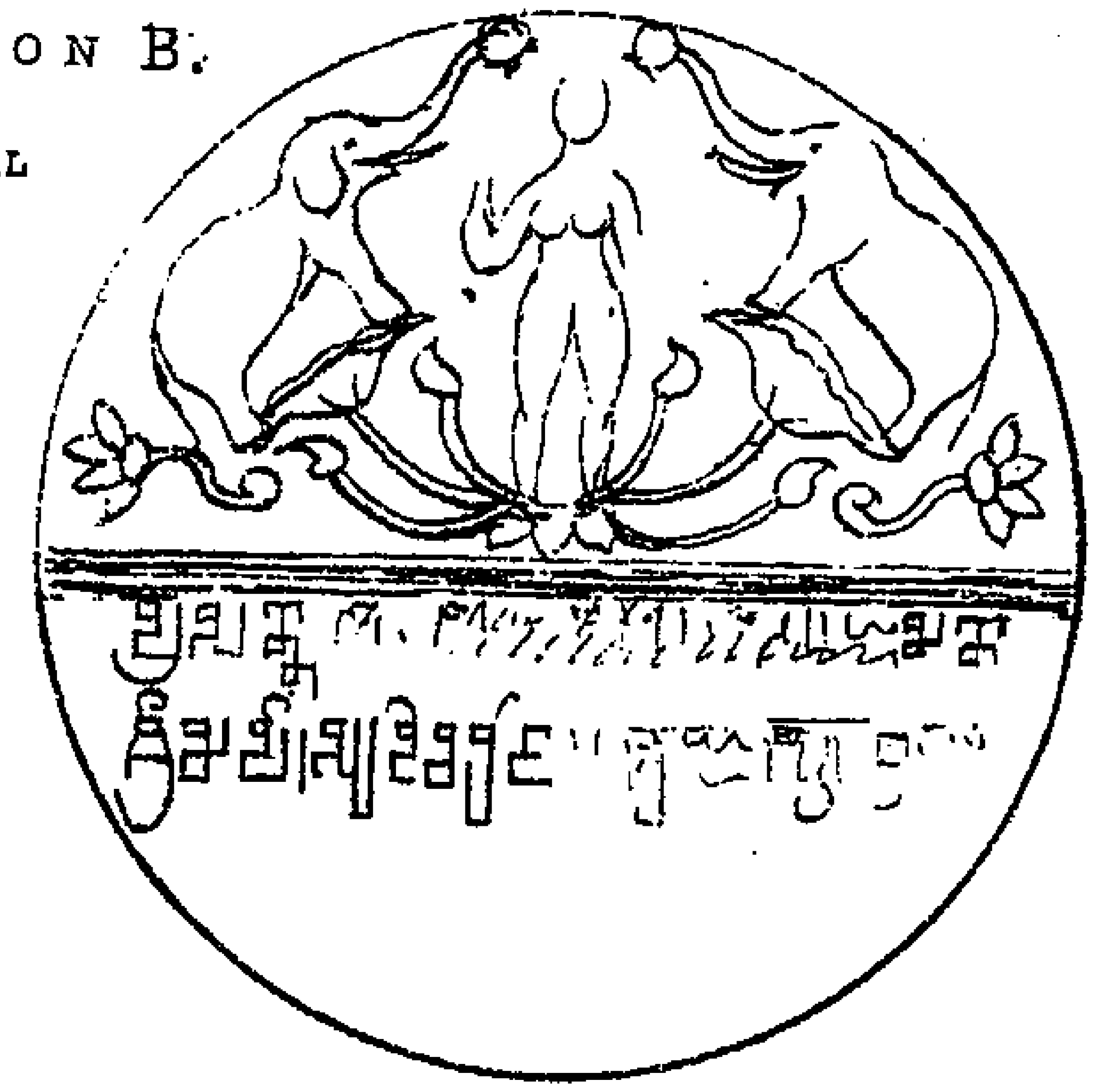

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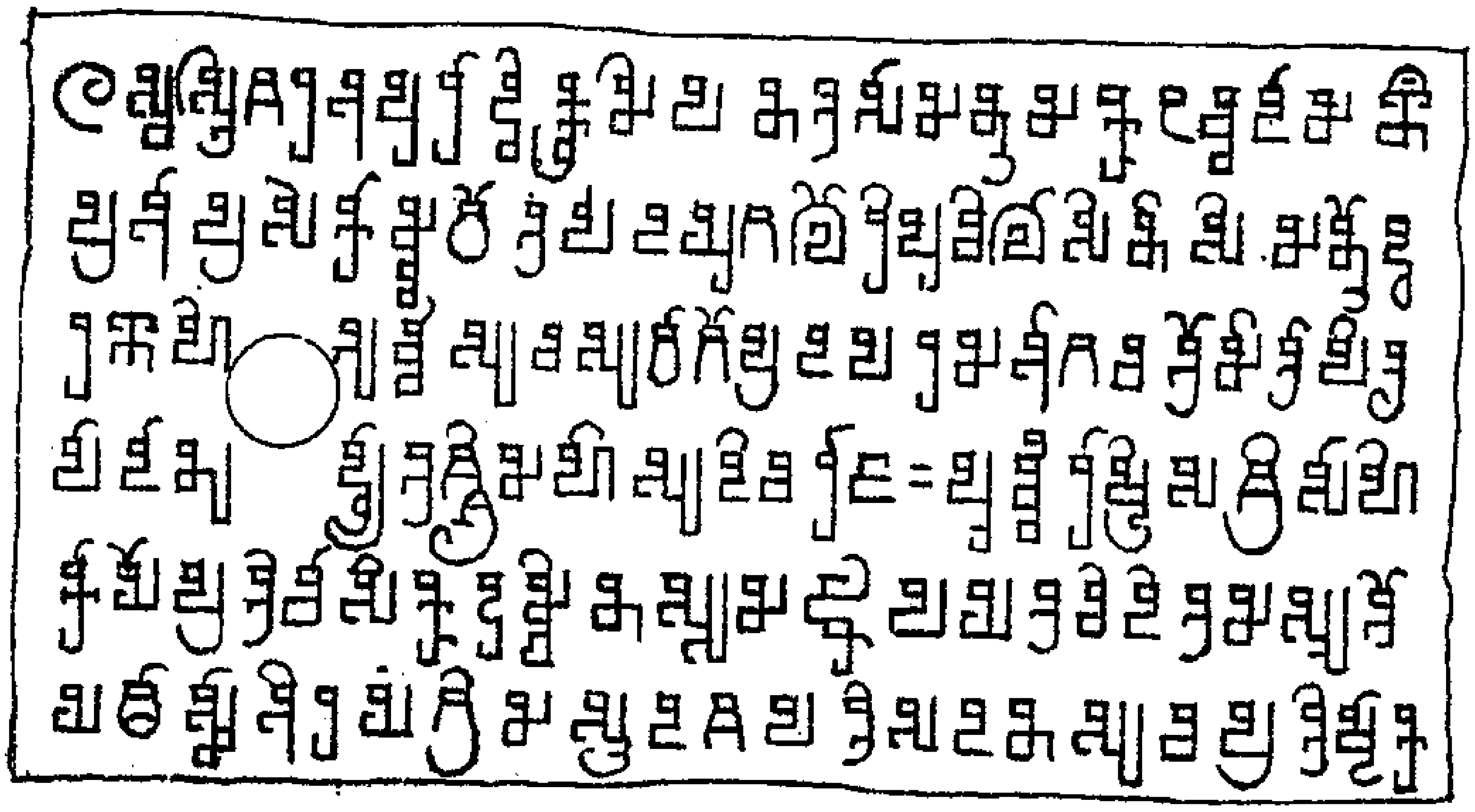

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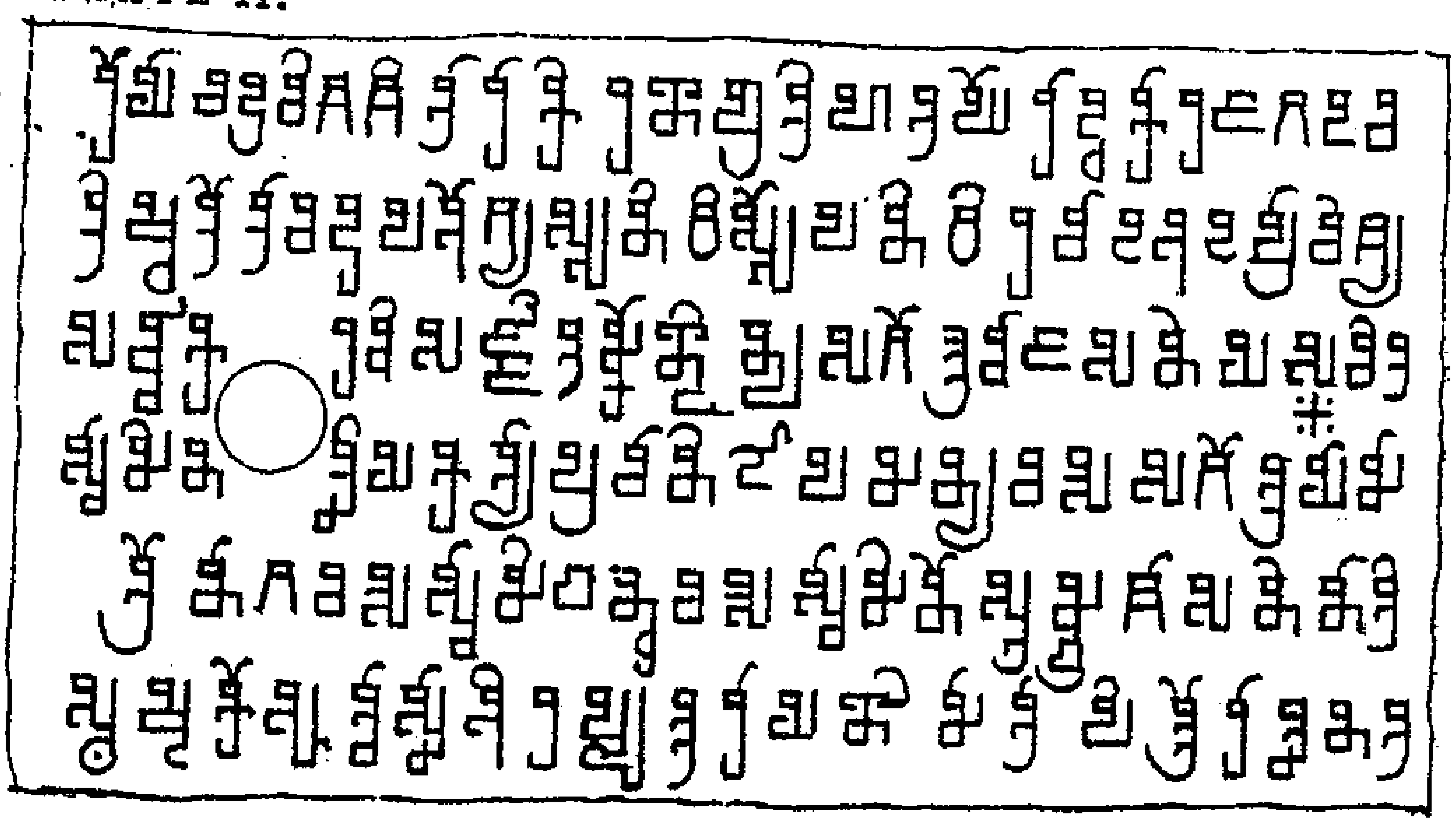

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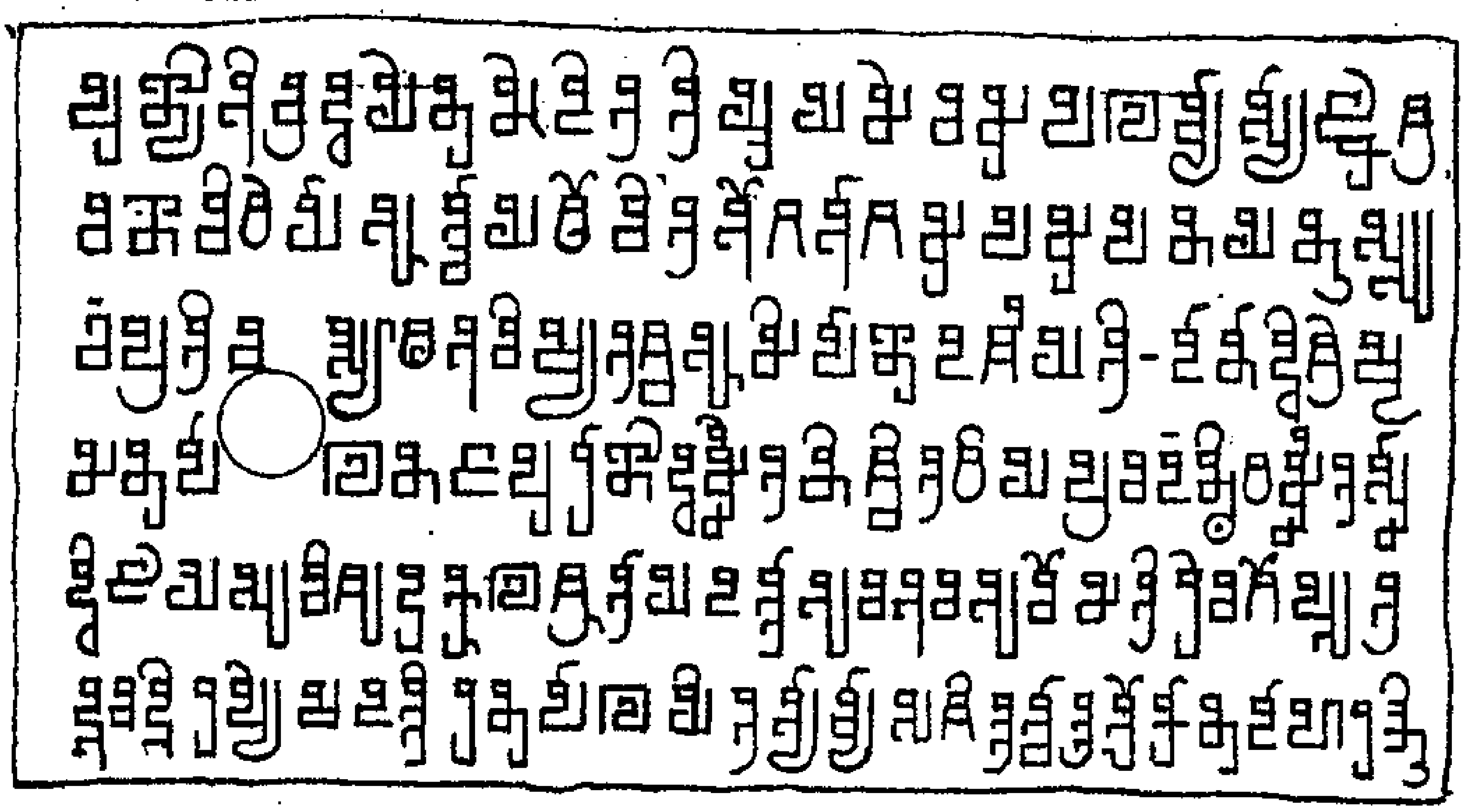

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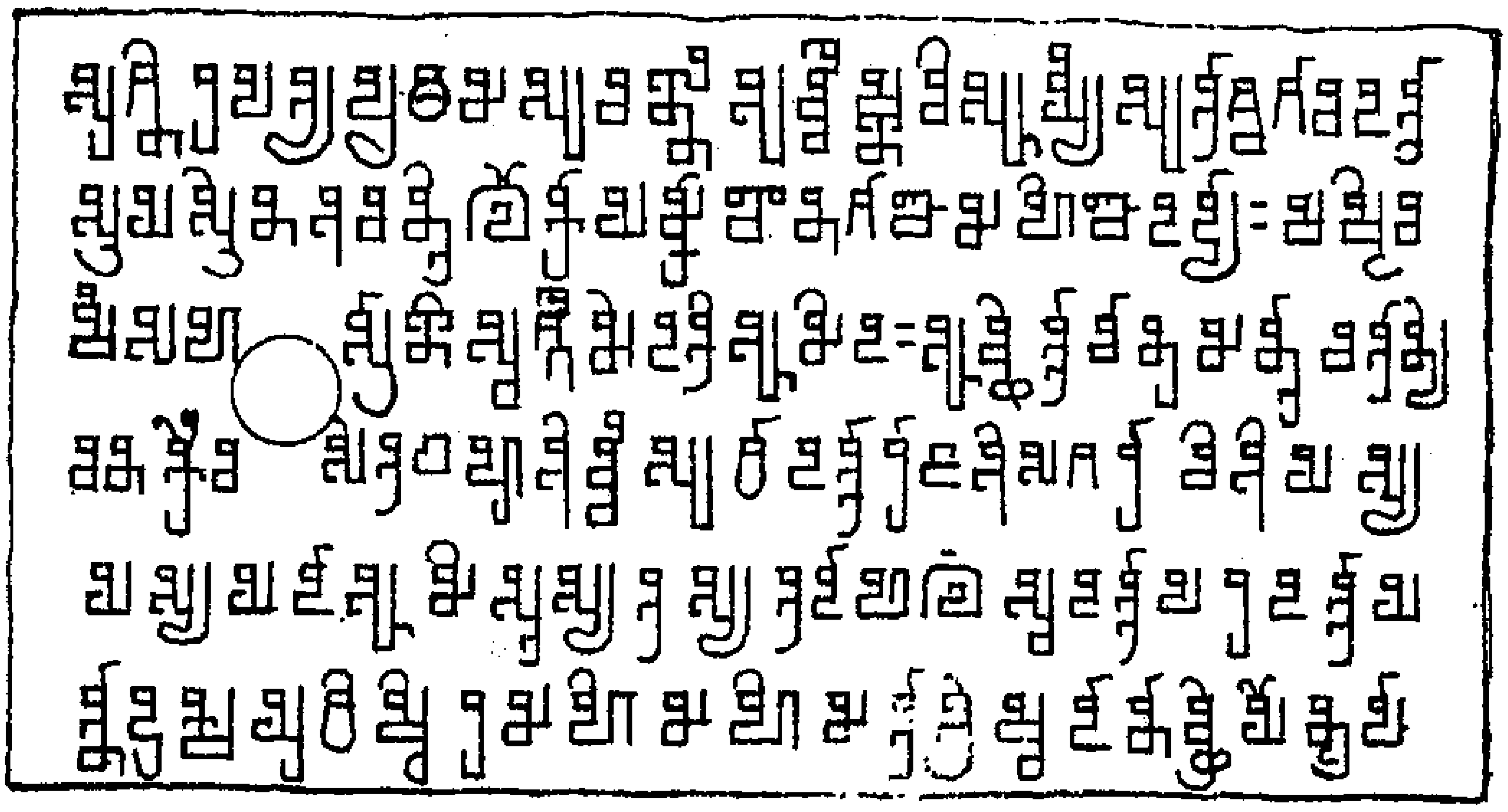

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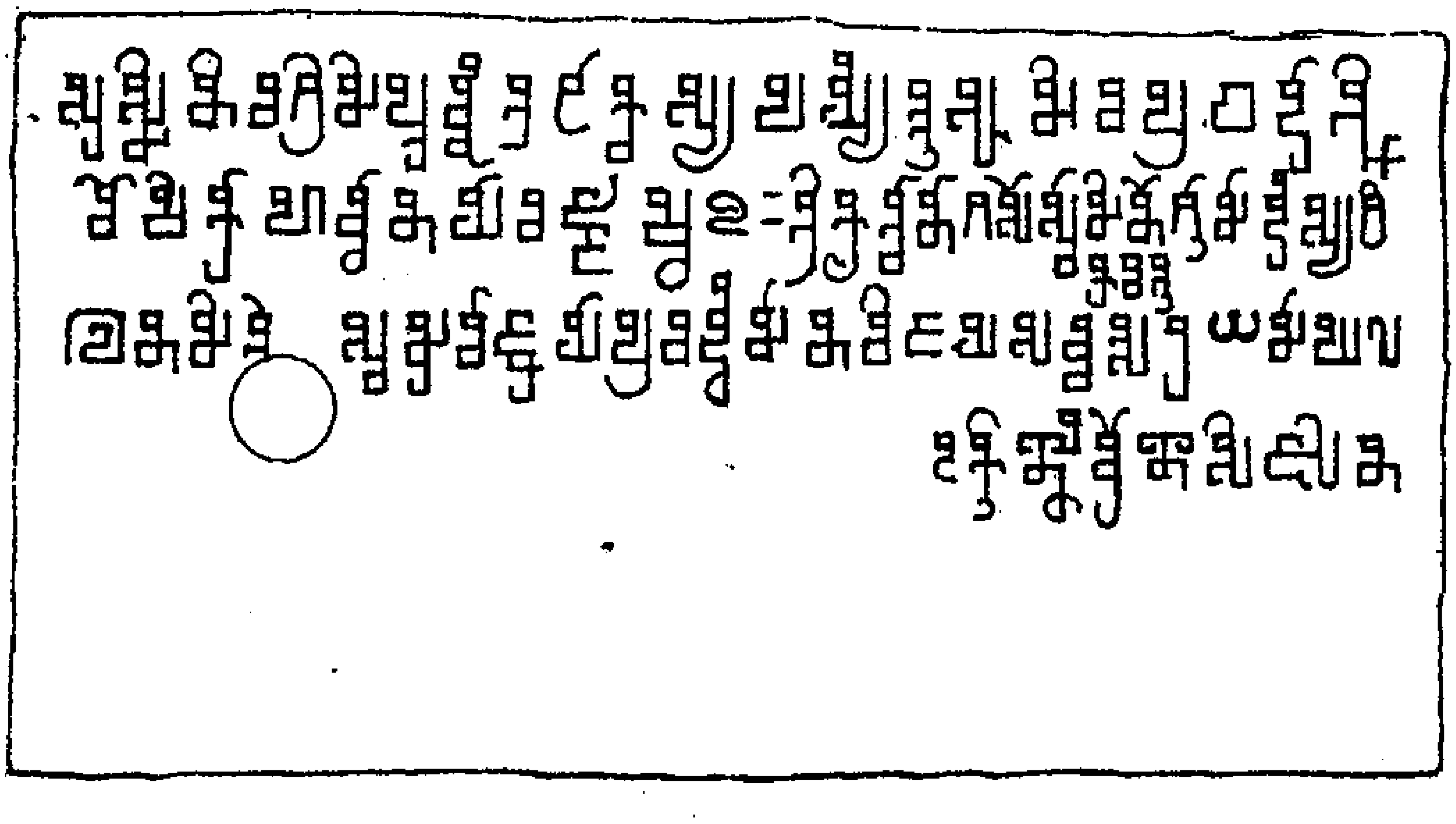

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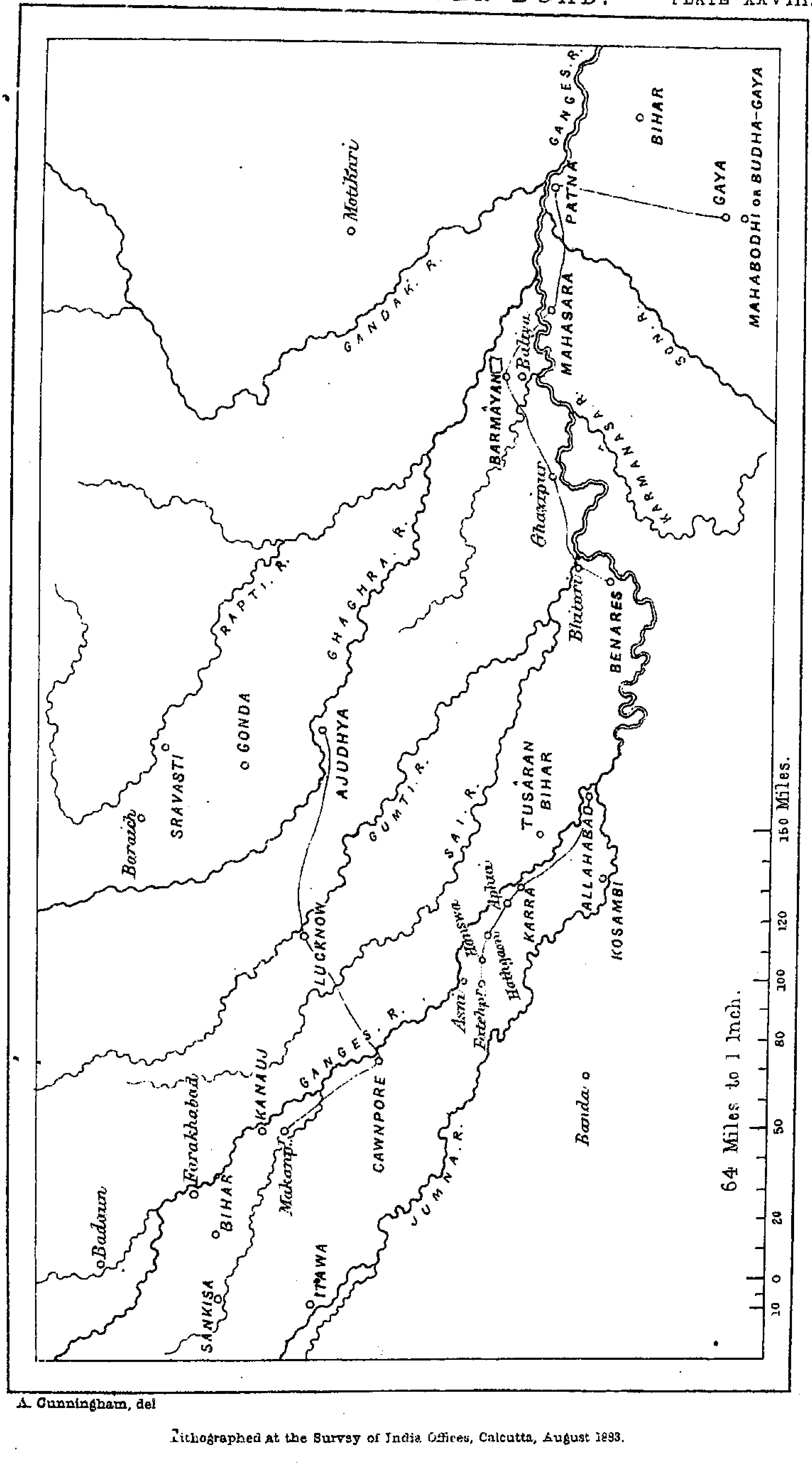
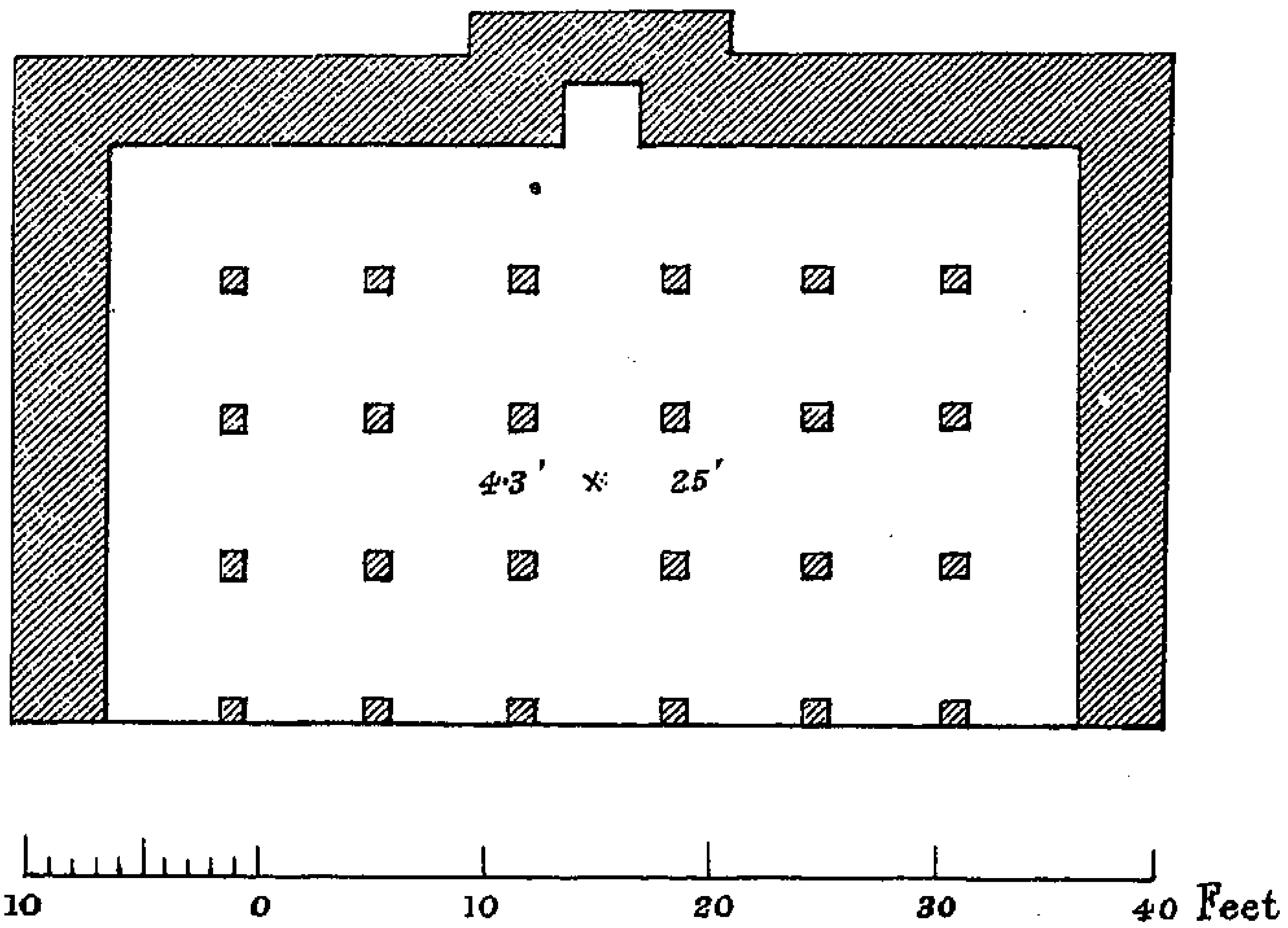
MAP OF LOWER DOAB.



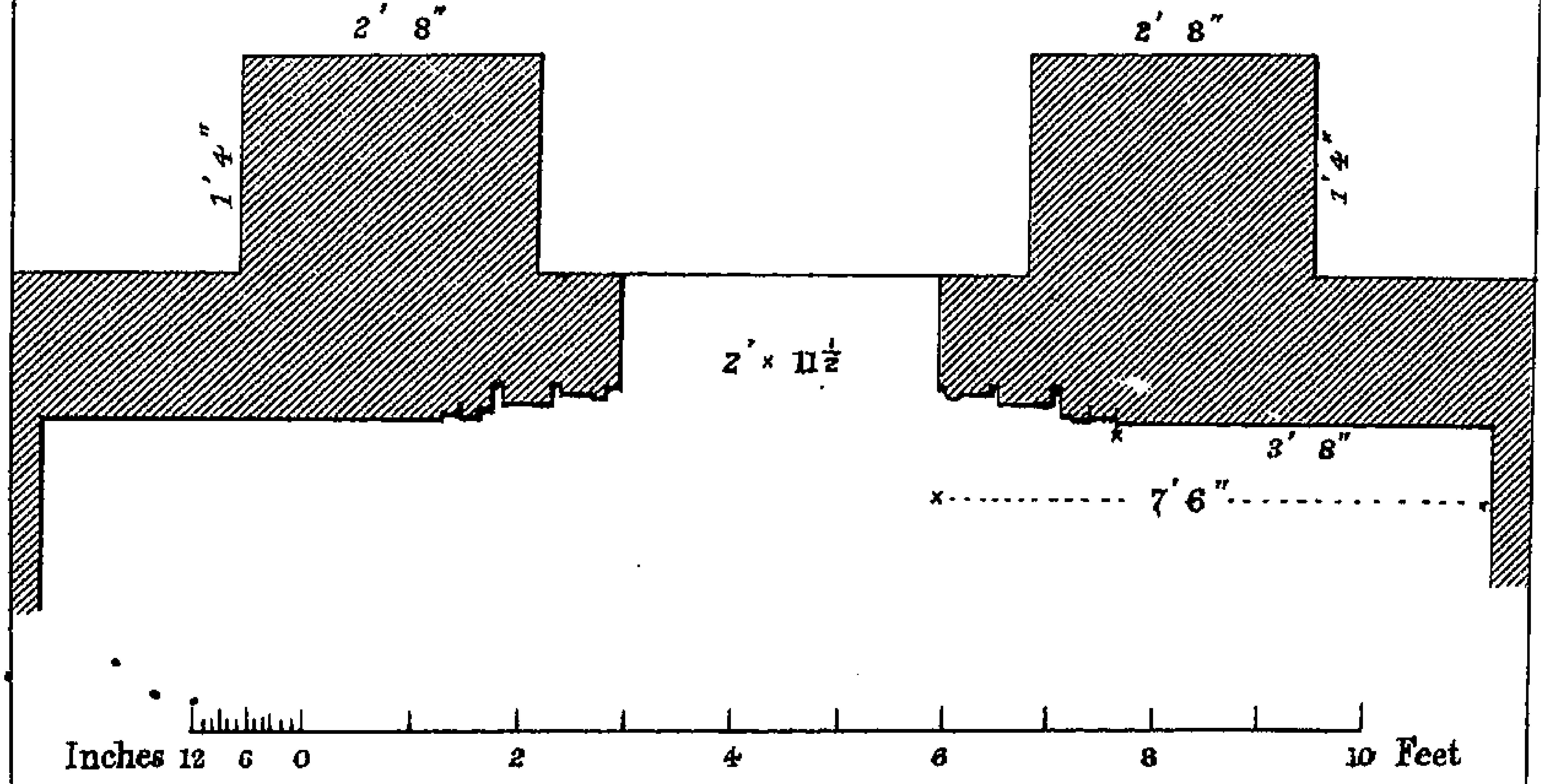
A. Cunningham, del

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, August 1883.

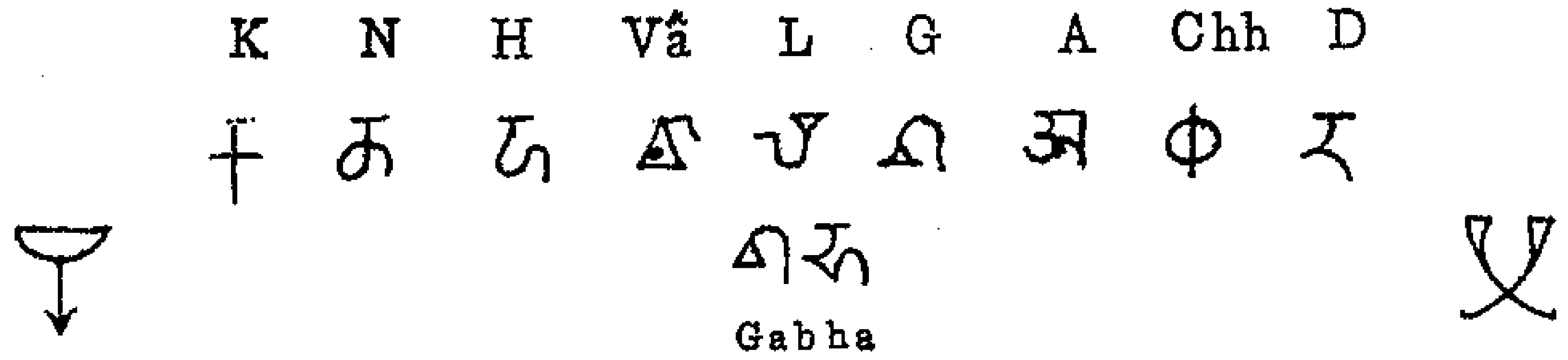
MASJID



DOORWAY OF TEMPLE



MASONS MARKS.



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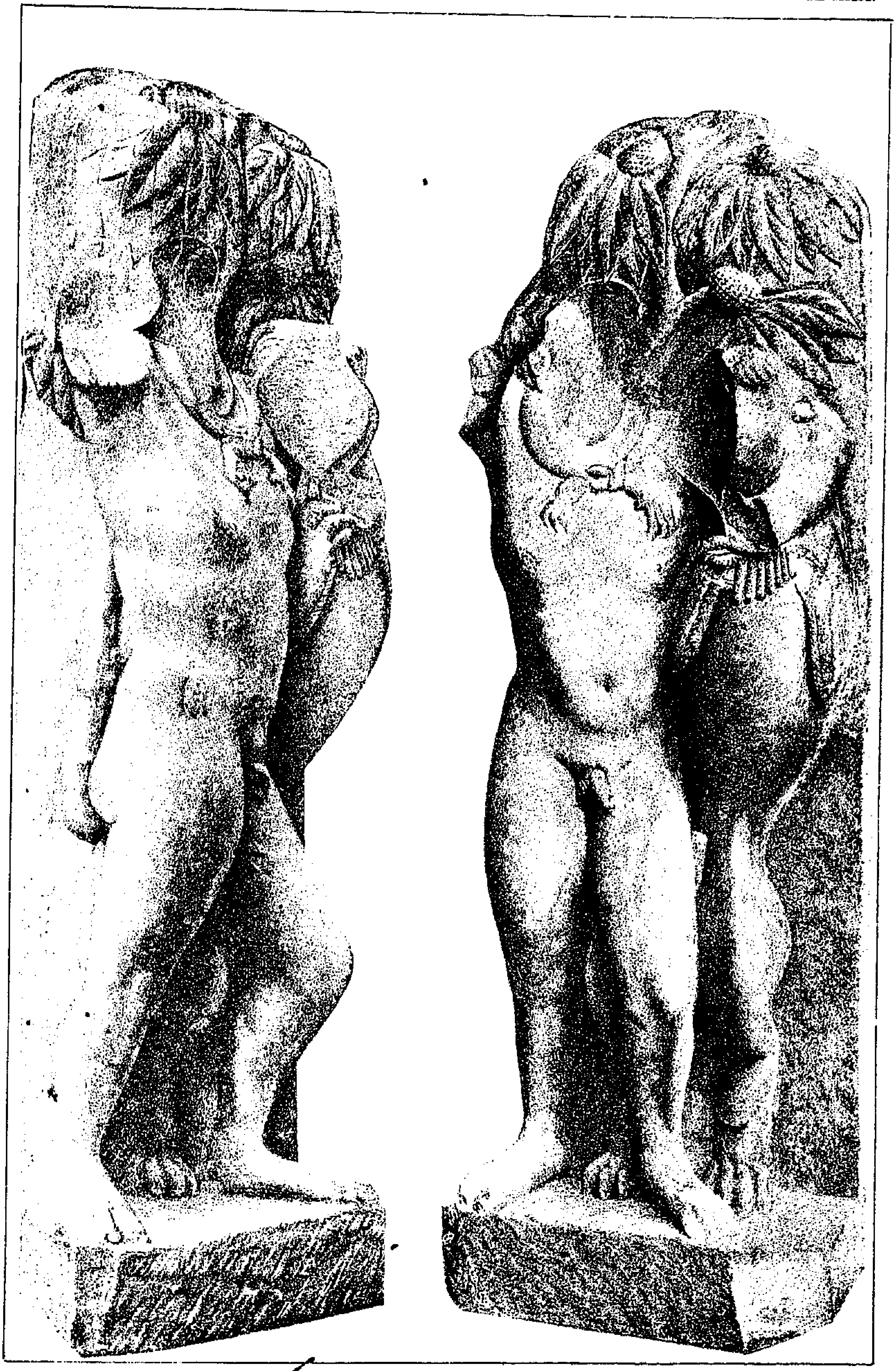
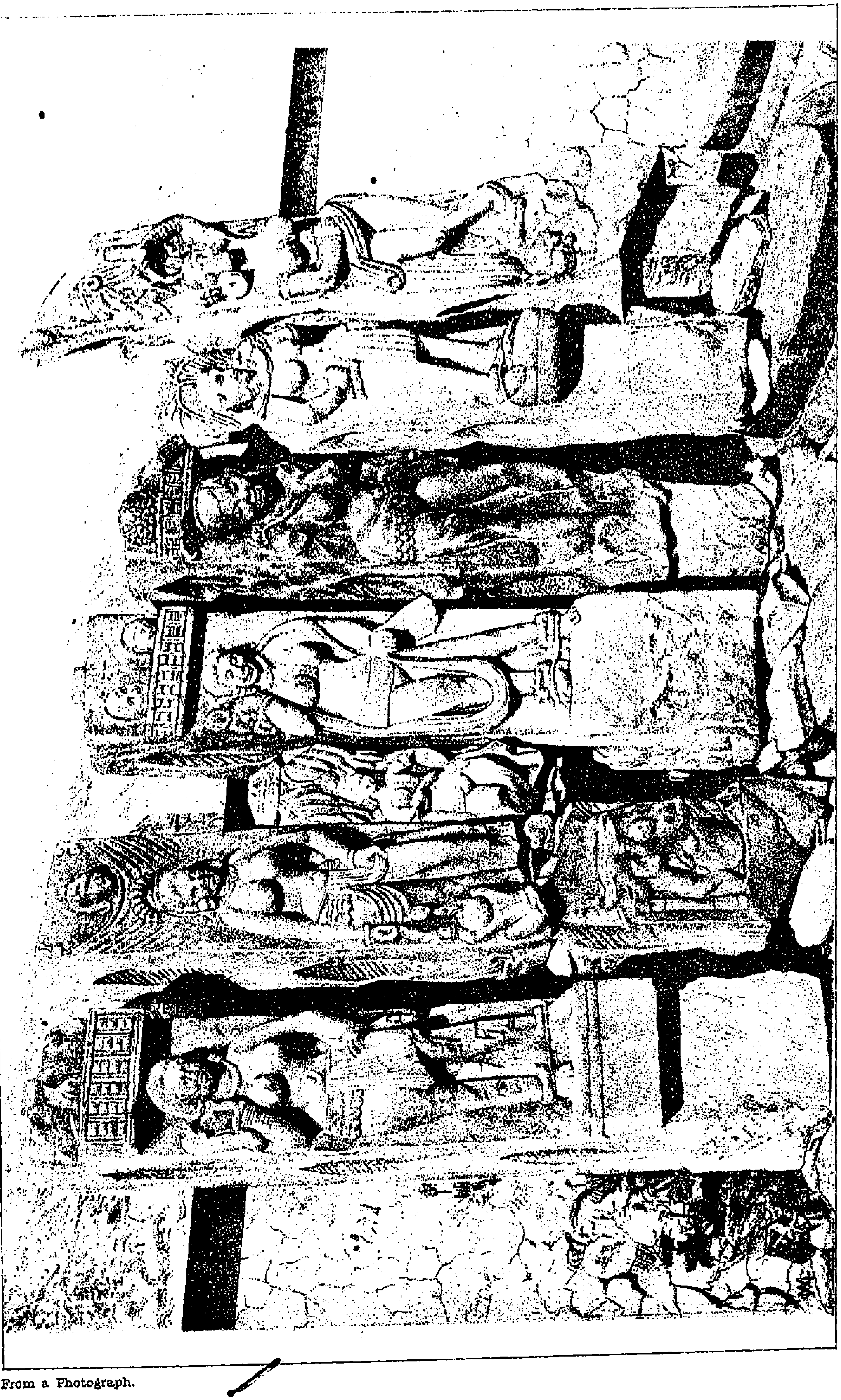


From a Photograph.

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, August 1883.



From a Photograph.

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, September 1883

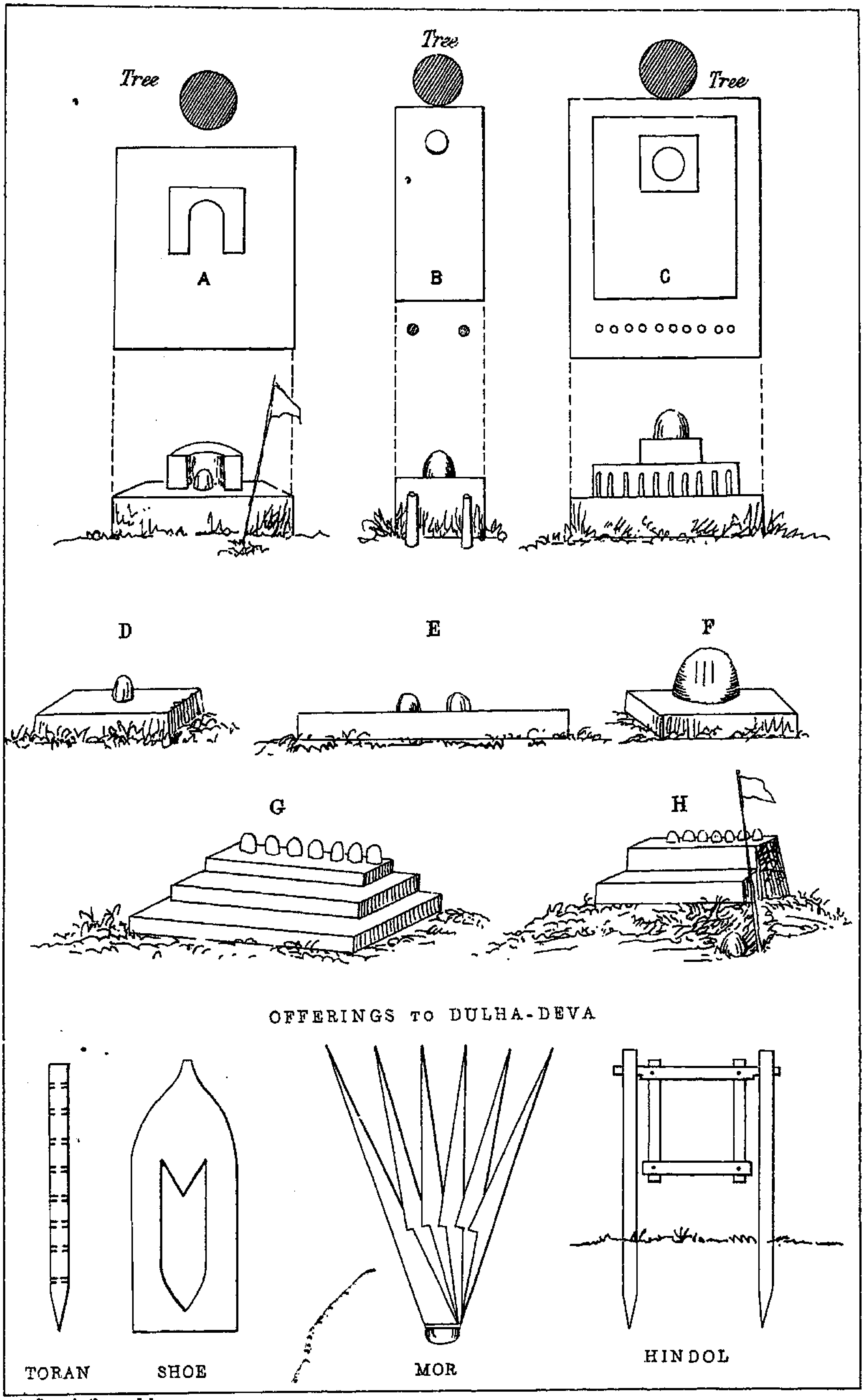
Photograph by H. B. W. Garrick.

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, August 1883.

Photograph by H. B. W. Garrick.

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, August 1883.

SHRINES OF DEIFIED GHOSTS.



A. Cunningham, del.

Lithographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, August 1883.

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